

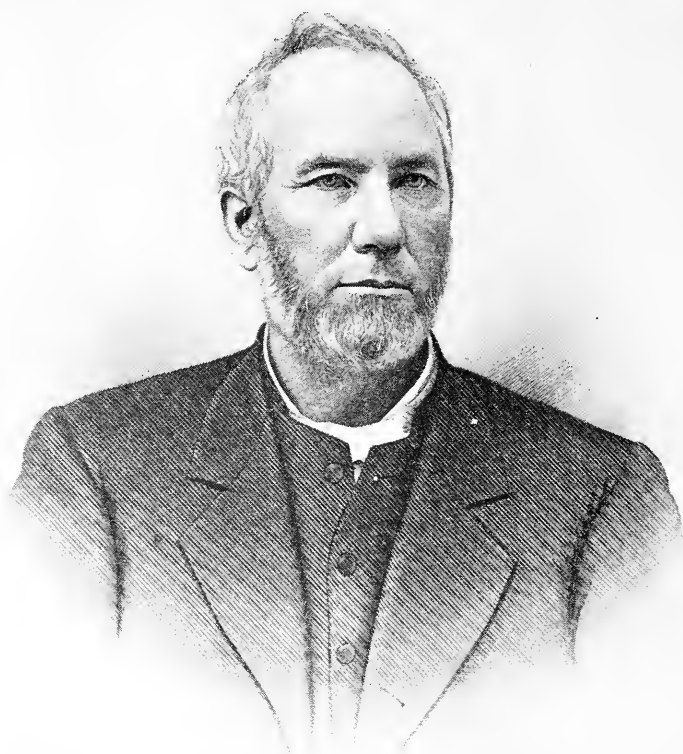
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BISHOP HOLLAND NIMMONS McTYEIRE



H. A. M. Tyne.

Q. ADAMS M. TYNE I. O.

Bishop Holland Nimmons McTyeire

Ecclesiastical and Educational Architect

by JNO. J. TIGERT IV

*Sometime United States Commissioner of Education
and President Emeritus of the University of Florida*

"That man is a success who has lived well, laughed often and loved much; who has gained the respect of intelligent men and the love of children; who has filled his niche and accomplished his task; who leaves the world better than he found it, whether by an improved poppy, a perfect poem, or a rescued soul; who never lacked appreciation of earth's beauty or failed to express it; who looked for the best in others and gave the best he had. His memory is a benediction."

—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

Nashville, Tennessee

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To

AMELIA MCTYEIRE TIGERT

His Devoted Daughter and My Sainted Mother
This Volume is Lovingly Inscribed

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HOLLAND NIMMONS McTYEIRE, age 42, at the time of his election
as Bishop

BISHOP McTYEIRE (Photo taken shortly before his death)

MRS. HOLLAND NIMMONS McTYEIRE (nee Amelia Townsend)

METHODIST CHURCH AT COLUMBUS, Mississippi, where McTyeire
was pastor in 1848, shortly after his marriage (Photo taken
in 1944)

MRS. CORNELIUS VANDERBILT (nee Frank Crawford)

MRS. ROBERT L. CRAWFORD (nee Martha Everitt, mother of
Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt)

McTYEIRE HOME ON VANDERBILT CAMPUS. Bench at far right,
Bishop's favorite place of meditation

FOREWORD

THE CIVIL WAR MEANT THE END OF AN ERA for the Southern states, and the period which followed was one of exhaustion, when the sorely wounded region waited for the return of strength and vigor. That picture, however true as a whole, is not the full story in its details. Even on the heels of the disaster there emerged individuals with vision, vigor, and purpose. Such individuals supplied the impulse and the ideas of the building of a new South, even before the capacity for revival had returned.

One such giant was Bishop Holland N. McTyeire. Before the war he had already rendered notable services to his church and region. Scarcely had the conflict ended when he took the lead in an endeavor to build a new university. His energy and enthusiasm carried him far afield, this particular undertaking being consummated in distant New York City. A few years later we see him in London leading the movement for cooperation, if not reunion, between the several divisions of his divided church. Such individuals are proleptic—the history which follows embodies their strengths, their ideas, and their limitations.

Bishop McTyeire was no plaster saint nor modern liberal, and Dr. Tigert's biography makes no effort to make him one. He was, however, a figure of vital energy and heroic proportions.

Fortunately Dr. Tigert was well prepared to write this story of Southern reaction to disaster and to the problems of reconstruction. As grandson of the Bishop he had grown up in the environment and tradition in which the Bishop worked. Three years at Oxford gave him breadth of outlook, and a distinguished career as professor, United States Commission of Education, and university president provided experience in the world of affairs and of ideas in which the Bishop moved. He has had access to a unique collection of family records by which his study is firmly documented.

Students of American social history, and especially those interested in the South in the critical second half of the nineteenth

BISHOP HOLLAND NIMMONS MCTYEIRE

century, have every reason to be grateful to Dr. Tigert for having recovered and preserved for posterity the portrait of a Southern leader who was at the same time so representative and so creative.

HARVIE BRANSCOMB

Chancellor, Vanderbilt University

PREFACE

WHEN BISHOP HOLLAND N. McTYEIRE died in February, 1889, after forty-four years in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, twenty-three years in the episcopacy, and sixteen years in building Vanderbilt University with plenary powers thrust upon him by Commodore Vanderbilt, he was by common consent the pre-eminent figure in his Church and possibly in Southern education. Numberless tongues repeated, "The Bishop is dead." It was not necessary to identify "The Bishop." He had been the central figure and builder of his Church since the War Between the States and of Vanderbilt University since 1873.

Pens were busy in composing memorials, editorials and tributes to a man who was a leader in all that he undertook. These writings would fill volumes.

The memorial adopted by the General Conference in the year after the Bishop's death contemplated "that in due time a full biography will be written worthy of his name and deeds." Several competent authors have undertaken the story of his life. The first was an episcopal colleague, O. P. Fitzgerald. In 1890 Bishop Fitzgerald began advertising and writing letters for materials. Many of the McTyeire papers were turned over to him but seven years passed before Bishop Fitzgerald produced a sketch among a dozen on *Eminent Methodists*—an excellent article but hardly a biography. Meantime, with the consent of the McTyeire family, Bishop Charles B. Galloway undertook a full biography. He made extensive preparation and collected additional material only to meet frustration in the failure of his health.

A member of the Vanderbilt faculty and subsequently a bishop, Elijah E. Hoss, in an address at the second Ecumenical Conference in Washington, in 1891, declared "Holland Nimmons McTyeire, the greatest man, take him all and all, that I have ever known." Hoss became possessed of a genuine ambition to write the life of the man he idolized but was unable to bring his zeal to practical accomplishment. Still another member of the

Vanderbilt faculty, Charles Forster Smith, who shared the estimate of Hoss, was active for years in the promotion of an adequate portrayal of Bishop McTyeire's life, but his effort ended, as did Bishop Fitzgerald's, with a splendid sketch of the Bishop in the *Reminiscences and Sketches*, published in 1908, in which he wrote, "After nineteen years, during which I have seen many men of great force, I still consider Bishop McTyeire the strongest man I ever lived close to. He was a born leader of men."

It is unfortunate that circumstances tied the hands of such superior talent as we have mentioned, all gifted writers and associated intimately with Bishop McTyeire for a period of years.

Thus a task, now long postponed but still awaited, has fallen upon one less qualified than any of those before him. I feel that I am venturing upon ground where angels have feared to tread, but I have not rushed in. Lest this duty go by default, I began twenty years ago collecting material on the scenes where the Bishop lived and wrought; four years ago a grant from Vanderbilt University made it possible to undertake the extensive research necessary to give this inadequate story of a man departed over a half century ago.

I feel that inevitably some presumptions of prejudice may arise because of the relation of the subject—a grandson may be incapable of writing an objective account of his ancestor. I can only say that I have presented the materials and facts without discrimination, leaving to the reader to assess the values. Nowhere do I attempt eulogy, apology, or condemnation. I do not offer my opinions. The story is told by the facts, by those who knew the Bishop, and by his own words.

The life of Bishop McTyeire is here unfolded in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to which it was entirely dedicated and against a backdrop of the times and places in which his career was cast.

I turn now to render my acknowledgments to those who have so generously assisted me in this work of labor and love.

My first expression of appreciation is for my *Alma Mater*. Nothing would have given Bishop McTyeire more gratification than

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the sponsorship of this work by Vanderbilt University. For this I am deeply indebted to Chancellor Harvie Branscomb who has offered his support and encouragement from the outset and to Professor H. C. Nixon, Director of the *Vanderbilt University Press*, and Robert A. McGaw, who have made excellent suggestions and undertaken the publication.

Space and cold type can never be adequate means to thank those who have assisted me. I assure them of my warm gratitude. Foremost is my faithful assistant for many years, Miss Edith P. Pitts, in the President's office at the University of Florida. She has spent years in organization and compilation of the materials, has aided at every step in the preparation of the manuscript, and made endless constructive suggestions. Without her constant attention and encouragement, this book would never have appeared. I am grateful also for meticulous and important assistance from Professor Lewis Haines, Director of the *University of Florida Press*, and his gifted wife, Helen S. Haines.

I have received complete cooperation from relatives; my wife has offered helpful and keen criticism of both form and content; my cousins, Mrs. Marian McTyeire Douglas of Atlanta, Georgia, and Mrs. Amelia Baskervill Martin of Bristol, Virginia, have contributed materials and pertinent suggestions. Dean Hamilton Douglas of the Atlanta Law School has given incisive criticism. General Holland McTyeire Smith, the distinguished Marine general who invented amphibious warfare, reviewed for me the period of the McTyeires in Russell County, Alabama, where he was born.

Mrs. A. M. Muckenfuss, Bishop Galloway's daughter, rendered a great service by turning over some of the materials which her father had collected. The Reverend W. L. Duren, D.D., of New Orleans, sometime Editor of the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* and able historian of Methodism, generously advised from his wealth of experience. He has read most of the manuscript, as did my dear classmate and friend, the late Bishop Hoyt M. Dobbs.

In my travels, Dr. L. A. Harzog, of Olar, S. C., drove me about over Barnwell and brought me into contact with persons who

have known Bishop McTyeire. I spent a glorious day with him. The Reverend Eugene Peacock, Pastor of St. Francis Street Church, gave me much time and valuable assistance in Mobile. Mr. Devereux Lake, who was born in Mobile and whose family is interlaced with the Everitts and the Crawfords, gave from his memories much interesting material and read some of my manuscript. At Columbus, Mississippi, President Burney L. Parkinson of the Mississippi College for Women, introduced me to persons who furnished records and data relating to my subject. President J. Earl Moreland of Randolph-Macon College took enthusiastic interest from the outset. To him and Dean W. A. Mabry, who is an historian, I offer my thanks for continuous help on the Randolph-Macon chapter of my book.

Finally, I must acknowledge the unstinted aid of a number of libraries and librarians. Among these are Mrs. Theodore G. Owen, of Randolph-Macon; Miss Bertha Childs and her successor, Miss Hughey, of the library of the Methodist Publishing House in Nashville; Mr. George W. Rosner and Mrs. Isabella O. Klingler, of the library of the University of Miami in Coral Gables; the staff of the library of the University of Florida and lastly, the special service of Dr. A. F. Kuhlman and staff in the Joint University Libraries.

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J. J. T.

Gainesville, Fla.,
July 14, 1955



CHAPTER I

ANOTHER MUSTARD SEED

WEDNESDAY, September 1, 1881, marked the attainment of the goal of a long struggle and a new epoch in the history of Methodism. On that memorable day, the first Ecumenical Conference with delegates from all parts of the globe assembled in City Road Chapel, London. John Wesley, the founder of the movement, had emphatically declared, "I look upon all the world as my parish."

And now, at the scene which had been the center of his life's labors and where, ninety years before, his restless spirit had found repose and his ashes were entombed in a sanctuary which he had erected, the representatives of his whole "parish" were at last brought together. "They represented twenty-eight different denominations, and about five millions of living souls, who heard or preached the gospel in thirty languages."¹ Four hundred delegates were divided equally between clergy and laity and between the Eastern and Western hemispheres.

The man who opened this historic conclave was no ordinary personage. He had been consecrated by both of his parents at birth for the ministry of the church and baptized by Francis Asbury. He was a close personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, at whose untimely death he had made the funeral address and ministered to his bereaved family at Springfield. It was Bishop Matthew Simpson, D.D., Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest group represented in the Conference, who preached the opening sermon to this select body of Christian leaders of the visible and universal Church.

The address of welcome was delivered in the afternoon by the President of the British Wesleyan Conference, Rev. George Osborn, D.D., who was at that time President of Richmond College (theological), London. His gracious address of fraternal

¹ McTyeire, Holland N., *A History of Methodism* (Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tennessee, 1884), p. 684.

welcome ended with a dynamic question which left the Conference at a fervent pitch. He said, "What hath God wrought? That was John Wesley's text when he laid the foundation of the chapel in which the Conference was convened. The question brought the realization of 'what God has wrought' for us and by us—forty-four thousand and a few more, including America—a hundred years ago. Today we speak of millions." ²

Holland Nimmons McTyeire, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and President of the Board of Trust of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, was chosen to make the address in response to President Osborn's welcome.

The Ecumenical Conference was planned and projected in America. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, were the instigators. Bishop Simpson and Bishop McTyeire served on the Commissions that worked out the project from the western side of the Atlantic. It was a consummation for which they had devoutly wished, worked and prayed. The two great branches of Methodism to which they belonged had separated in 1844, over complications arising from the institution of slavery. It is remarkable that in one of his speeches the great statesman and protagonist of an indestructible Union of States, Daniel Webster "regrets the separation of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Speaking with the utmost feeling on the subject, he expresses the opinion that the schism might have been prevented; and he then comments upon the matter in words pregnant with wisdom that not only applied with force to the slavery question in 1850, but have a meaning for all controversies to all time." ³

To the first General Conference of the Northern branch of Methodists after the separation of 1844, the Southern branch sent a messenger with overtures of reunion. The separation had taken place without rancor, but reluctantly, after long discussion and much prayer, according to a plan approved by both parties.

² *Ibid.*, p. 685.

³ Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States* (Harper & Bros., New York. 1896), I, p. 145.

The North was not ready, in 1848, to reconsider and rejected the "messenger of peace from the south," who left this proposition:

You will therefore regard this communication as final on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. She can never renew the offer of fraternal relations between the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists in the United States, but the proposition can be renewed at any time, either now or hereafter, by the Methodist Episcopal Church; and if ever made upon the basis of the Plan of Separation, as adopted by the General Conference of 1844, the Church, South, will cordially entertain the proposition.⁴

The Northern Church was no more able to unite in 1848 than to prevent the breach four years before. The North was steadily becoming free. The South was still slave. Until the "irrepressible conflict" came and forever settled the slavery issue, fraternity and union could not grow, either in church or state. It is as impossible for a church to exist half slave and half free as it is for a nation.

After the War Between the States, the atmosphere was cleared and the soil for fraternal relations could be profitably tilled. With this favorable turn in the times, Holland McTyeire came by the grace of God and the confidence of his brethren into a place of leadership.

The year after the war ended, he was elected a Bishop. Opportunity for personal contribution thus coincided with propitious circumstances. From this point, progress toward unity in the North and South was steady and marked in each succeeding Conference.

Bishop Simpson was a member of a deputation which came before the Southern Bishops at their annual meeting in May, 1869. They brought a letter which read:

It seems to us that as the division of those Churches of our country which are of like faith and order has been productive of evil, so the reunion of them would be productive of good. As the main cause of the separation has been removed, so has the chief obstacle to the restoration. . . .

Bishop McTyeire, who sat among the Southern Bishops, called the interview "a pleasant one" but felt that as "a generation had grown up ignorant of the question at issue," the College of Bishops

⁴ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 679.

was justified in postponing action until a period of education could restore fraternal feelings and relations.⁵

The Northern Church continued active in wooing their brethren of the South and, at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Louisville, in 1874, the delegation from the North was warmly received and resolutions adopted that expressed regret that the delegates had not been empowered to settle the vexed questions between the churches. It authorized the appointment by the College of Bishops of a commission to meet with a similar commission authorized by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In support of this action the resolution said:

Open and righteous treatment of all cases of complaint will furnish the only solid ground upon which we can meet. Relations of amity are, with special emphasis, demanded between bodies so near akin. We be brethren. To the realization of this the families of Methodism are called by the movements of the times. The attractive power of the cross is working mightily. The Christian elements in the world are all astir in their search for each other. Christian hearts are crying to each other across vast spaces, and longing for fellowship.⁶

The joint commission met at Cape May, New Jersey, August 17-23, 1876, and unanimously agreed upon terms, including adjustment of property claims, "which were accepted as a finality by the ensuing General Conference of both Churches." ⁷ The Commission at the beginning of their labors had adopted "without a dissentient voice" a declaration of "their coordinate relations as legitimate branches of Episcopal Methodism . . . though in distinct ecclesiastical connections." ⁸

This declaration of the Commission, failing to provide for a plan of reunion of the two churches, was not in the final analysis satisfactory to the members. "The suggestion was thrown out; it grew into a general assembly of all the Sons of Wesley—an Ecumenical Methodist Conference. Arrangements were completed for representatives from both hemispheres. As to the place of meeting, no second opinion was heard, all feeling that for the first

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 680.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

⁷ ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 684.

general assembly of the bands into which the United Societies of John Wesley had spread, no other spot could furnish a scene so fitting as City Road Chapel." ⁹

Thus was born the first Ecumenical Conference of Methodists, a body developed upon the principle of world brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God. It not only realized Wesley's hope of a world for a parish but it was in obedience to the command of the Master, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

The role of leadership which Holland McTyeire was called upon to take in such an event could hardly fail to be the zenith of his endeavors for the Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was officially allotted thirty-eight delegates to the Conference.

To the appointment of these delegates, he gave long and purposeful thought, which was rewarded with abundant success, though his correspondence shows some "sourness" among the disappointed. His great care in making nominations and sure grasp of the wide effect and long-range influence of the Conference is revealed in a typical letter written privately to a prospective delegate:

On 23rd June, the Bps. [Bishops] meet to nominate the "38" who are to represent us in the Ecumenical. Aug. 1881. . . . While old and middle aged men will become that occasion, we ought to have a few young ones, to connect the occasion and its result with the next generation. Might I nominate you as one of the 38, with assurances that if elected you could and would go? ¹⁰

Shortly after McTyeire's election to the episcopacy, in 1866, his portrait was painted by a celebrated artist of the day, Washington Cooper. He was then nearly forty-two years old and described by a daughter as:

A tall, erect man of heroic mold, but, in those days of slender proportions; jet black hair and whiskers, in which, as yet, not a touch of gray was visible; blue-gray eyes, rather deep set, with a glance at once keen and observant; a square jaw, a firm mouth, a forehead already furrowed with deep lines of

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 684.

¹⁰ To Charles B. Galloway, June 14, 1880. Galloway did not go but became a bishop a few years later and was a delegate in the Second Ecumenical in 1891.

thought, a face full of power and courage, with an expression of determination and purposeful energy, strikingly different from the placid dignity and quiet repose that marked his latest portraits.¹¹

At the time of the Ecumenical, McTyeire was fifty years of age and had become somewhat stout but was not corpulent. His hair and close-cropped beard were now streaked with gray, the furrows in his face were deepened, but his vigor and quickness of perception were not abated. Dignity and poise he had acquired naturally, as he matured.

This is the man who, after months of planning and setting the stage for the Ecumenical Conference, was at last being called to reply to the address of welcome.

He came into this synod of ministers all in regulation clothes and clerical black—in the garb of the tourist. But when he arose to speak the traveler's suit was not noticed. His bearing and speech captured the audience.¹²

His manner and his words were as informal as his dress. After an appropriate acknowledgment of the pleasure accorded by their welcome and the tender of hospitality, he averred that delegates from America did not approach England as complete strangers. Most of them had ancestors from the British Isles. Methodism had sprung from an English origin. They were under a new debt which they came not to pay but to acknowledge.

He made reference to a tour which he and a party of friends had just completed on the Continent. He described with ecstasy the historic spots, sacred and secular, which had been visited. The burden of his address and its general tenor was the expression of greater appreciation for England, for her classic spots and her sons than for the allurements of the Continent. Asbury alone had created a debt to England that could never be repaid.

Let me say to you, sir, and to your brethren, that you have a greater opulence in the way of relics, and sacred places, and sacred scenes in England, than any other country in the world has for Protestants. What Palestine is to a Jew, what Italy is to a Roman Catholic, that England is to

¹¹ Baskervill, Janie McTyeire, *Recollections of My Father, The Methodist Quarterly Review* (Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., January 1908), pp. 5-6.

¹² *Richmond Christian Advocate*, February 21. 1889.

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the Protestant. . . . No Campo Santo of Italy, with its sculptured marble, has half the interest to our hearts as that pious dust that lies right about you.

Referring to the wonders of Pisa, Italy, its Leaning Tower, its marble columns, and the swinging lamp in the Cathedral, he exclaimed:

But, sir, you have here in England—not in drowsy Pisa, but in busy, bustling Bristol—something that I would rather see; not the lamp that suggested the pendulum to Galileo, but that church, the building and paying for which suggested to John Wesley the class-meeting. A mightier moral power Methodism has not had and the world has not seen.

In this vein and by other comparisons, he proceeded. He was exalted at the tomb of Virgil, the poet who “redeemed our school days from drudgery.” He preferred to see the tomb of Charles Wesley, “not the man who sung of arms, and pastoral scenes and ducal men; but of the poet that sung of Christian hope and free grace.”

Most of all he wanted to visit Aldersgate Street, where John Wesley was converted and felt his “heart strangely warmed”—thus finding the peace that he had vainly sought on land and sea. It was the end of legalism and formalism and ritualism, and the spirit of life came—the genesis of Methodism, whose mission will never end “as long as men need that experience.” Speaking of the presence of delegates from all parts of the world, he concluded:

Here we are, sir, speaking every man in his own tongue wherein he was born of the wonderful work of God accomplished by Methodism; and I reciprocate with all my heart your desire that God’s blessing should be upon this gathering, and that we may take away from this Council and Conference great blessings for our people.¹³

A member of the Conference wrote this account of the Bishop’s address and its effect:

At the opening of the Ecumenical Conference in London, when it fell to his lot to reply to the address of welcome by Dr. Osborn, he did so in his well-known manner—quiet, dignified, cordial and happy. I saw that he soon

¹³ See Appendix A for complete *Address* at Ecumenical Conference, as reprinted in *Passing Through the Gates* (Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., 1890), pp. 294-300.

had complete command of that audience largely composed of solid, sensible Englishmen. His way was so different from the ornate rhetorical but somewhat youthful style of the majority of American speakers to whom they had listened. Thereafter, on the few occasions, when Bishop McTyeire arose to address the Conference, there was no need of the stroke of the gavel to procure him the instant attention of the House. He was always as much at ease, apparently, amid the overwhelming associations of City Road Chapel, as he would have been in McKendree Church, Nashville.¹⁴

From the tributes which Bishop McTyeire received for his contribution to the Ecumenical Conference, the following is typical:

When he entered the Ecumenical Council, where the eyes of the great men of all Methodism were looking upon him and the burden of London's fame was mightily affecting his spirit, he went at once to the front and was accorded the highest position among his brethren. Then he presided with as much ease as in an Annual Conference at home; his wisdom gave him authority; his dignity won respect and his ready wit captivated all hearers.¹⁵

The last chapter of McTyeire's *History of Methodism* deals with the repeated and continuous effort to heal the breach in the Church he loved. In it he writes:

The last letter John Wesley wrote to America was to Ezekiel Cooper, and contained these words: "Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue."

The chapter continues:

The grand *depositum* of Wesleyan doctrine is common to them all, under whatever name or in whatever region they proclaim it; the same enemies oppose, and the same standards are appealed to; the same historical names and facts are cherished by them all. Whatever differences may exist between the various branches of this ecclesiastical family, they are nearer to each other than they can be to other people. "I am a Methodist" awakens strong sympathies and affinities, and is associated with a fellowship, doctrines, experience, usages, means of grace, peculiar to this form of Christianity, and dear to everyone who has enjoyed them. Notwithstanding occasional personal offenses against the unity of the Spirit, and improper associate acts and utterances, many waters cannot quench the love of Spirit.¹⁶

Here we have McTyeire's interpretation of the spirit and philos-

¹⁴ Letter of Francis Henry Smith, Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of Virginia, to Jno. J. Tigert, father of the author, February 15, 1889.

¹⁵ *Florida Christian Advocate*, February 21, 1889.

¹⁶ H.N.M., *ibid.*, p. 679.

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ophy of the religious movement in which he was to have a conspicuous part and here we have the basic approach to his constructive activities which were built around the dictum of the founder.

If the delegates at the First Ecumenical Conference were struck with awe at God's power in increasing their brotherhood from something over 50,000 in a century to five million, how their faith in God and his mighty works would glow today if they could see the World Methodist Council, a federation of the Methodist Churches throughout the world, seventy-four years after the Ecumenical, with a total membership of 16,198,360 souls, and Methodism in the United States an organic body with a fellowship of 11,738,940.¹⁷

Literally the Master's parable of the mustard seed has been fulfilled in the new life that John Wesley breathed into a dying religion.

¹⁷ *The Methodist Fact Book* (Methodist Publishing House, Chicago, Ill., 1955), p. 20.

CHAPTER II

FOREBEARS AND BOYHOOD

TOWARD the close of the year 1819, John McTyeire, a youth in his early twenties, was traveling on the stagecoach which ran from Augusta, Georgia, to Charleston, South Carolina. Overnight stops were regularly made on this run at the plantation of Andrew Nimmons, located in Barnwell District. After a night's rest and refreshment at the hospitable homestead, passengers resumed their journey. Either intentionally or inadvertently, McTyeire got left at the plantation on his trip down. Though he had disappeared at the time of the departure of the coach, shortly thereafter he returned to the plantation and asked Andrew Nimmons for work, which was provided. It is surmised that a sudden romance may have overtaken the youth, causing him to miss his coach. Young John McTyeire proved to be very industrious, both as an employee and as a suitor. Within a very short time, he wooed and won the hand of Andrew Nimmon's beautiful daughter, Elizabeth Amanda. The wedding ceremony was appropriately performed on January 5, 1820.¹ Holland Nimmons McTyeire was the third of a large family of eleven children who sprang from this marriage.²

John McTyeire's father, of the same name, was a Scotsman born in the year 1746. Though it is not definitely established whether he was a native of Scotland or Virginia, it is well known that he was of Scotch lineage and that he "made his home on the Northern Neck of Virginia in which the gaiety and gallantry of the Cavaliers were tempered by the gravity and tenacity of the Covenanters."³

He had a great fondness for the womenfolk of the "Old

¹ Dates of births and marriages are taken from records in the McTyeire family Bible. Dates of deaths are taken from the Bible, tombstones, and publications.

² See Workman, W.D., *Govan Native Grew to Be Vanderbilt University Founder* (*The News and Courier*, Charleston, S.C., July 25, 1947). See also, *Vanderbilt Alumnus*, January-February, 1948, p. 11.

³ Fitzgerald, O.P., *Eminent Methodists* (Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., 1897), p. 72.

Dominion." He was thrice married and each of his wives was a Virginian. The first wife was Sarah Carter, by whom he had three children. The second wife has not been definitely identified. The third was Lucy Shelton. Of the latter union, five children, two girls and three boys, were born. His namesake was a child of this third marriage. He had a younger brother, Holland, for whom the future Bishop Holland Nimmons McTyeire was probably named.

Soon after his marriage to Lucy Shelton, John McTyeire moved South, first into Georgia and later into South Carolina. Both in Georgia and in South Carolina, John was engaged in farming and planting. He died June 10, 1821, at the ripe age of 75 years.

Andrew Nimmons, maternal grandfather of Holland Nimmons McTyeire, was born in Ireland and of Irish parentage in 1750. Accompanied by his father, William Nimmons, he came to this country with the Protestant migrations from Europe which took place in the year 1777, and in ample time to fight in some of the battles of the Revolutionary War. They were from the city of Dublin. Andrew acquired a large plantation in Barnwell District in the southern part of South Carolina not far from Charleston, which was then one of the principal cities in America. Districts later became counties, with some geographical changes.

Nimmons was a public-spirited man and for many years was high Sheriff of Barnwell. He was popular, energetic, and noted for his hospitality. His spacious mansion was a center of social activity as well as a rendezvous for travelers. He married Jemima Montgomery, a South Carolina woman also of Irish descent. The date of her marriage is not recorded in the family Bible, but the marriage of a younger sister, Lucy, to William Hutto, in 1806, is recorded. The names Nimmons, Montgomery, and Hutto are still emblems of high esteem in the coastal area of South Carolina.

Vestiges of the old coach road from Augusta to Charleston still remain, in spite of a modern highway. The two-story colonial home of Andrew Nimmons is gone, but the site is marked by a tremendous sycamore tree that stood by it, and a log cabin which was part of the slave "quarters." Not far away is the family grave-

BISHOP HOLLAND NIMMONS MCTYEIRE

yard, protected through the years by South Carolina law. Here Andrew Nimmons sleeps amid nearly a score of his kinsmen. His tombstone bears this epitaph:

Andrew Nimmons
A Native of Ireland
Died April 8, 1829
Age 79 Years

John McTyeire, father of Holland Nimmons McTyeire, was born December 14, 1795, in Edgefield District, South Carolina. Edgefield, like Barnwell, lies on the western border of the State, along the Savannah River. Halfway down the Carolina border, across the river, is the city of Augusta, Georgia. Opposite, in South Carolina, is Aiken County (formerly a part of Barnwell) bounded on the north by Edgefield and on the south by Barnwell. This whole region and the area eastward to the coast was the habitat of planters, for the most part wealthy and aristocratic. When John McTyeire married Elizabeth Nimmons, Andrew Nimmons gave them a part of his plantation as a wedding gift. Here they made their home during the next eighteen years. Some of these were among the most critical years in the history of the State.

It was in this period that the struggle over tariff arose involving the relation of the State to the Union. South Carolina defied the federal government with the historic nullification ordinance. John McTyeire was a leader among the "nullifiers" and organized a company of troops in Barnwell in accord with the authority of the nullification act. This "military service" was in 1832 and it earned for him the title of Captain which he carried for the remainder of his life.

He was a man of the true Scotch-Irish type—sturdy, of iron will and quite fond of having his own way. He believed in good cotton crops, State rights, and Arminian theology. . . . In his day, every Church member was a polemic and every voter a politician. Neutrality was impossible to a man of John McTyeire's blood, traditions, and environment.⁴

The Reverend F. L. Cherry, who knew the McTyeire family as neighbors, wrote of them:

⁴ Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

FOREBEARS AND BOYHOOD

Captain McTyeire was of Scotch ancestry. Distinctive national traits from the land of Bruce and Wallace do not disappear in a generation. They could be recognized at a glance in the Captain. His life developed firmness illustrated in humanity—a beautiful combination of the oak and willow. In some things, he would be uprooted before he would give way, while in others he would gracefully bend to the pressure from the force of circumstances and respect to the opinion of others, only to react when the pressure was removed.

He was not an educated man in the sense the word is commonly used. But his strong common sense supplied deficiencies for all practical purposes. Mrs. McTyeire's education was of a higher grade, and it is no disparagement to either to say that she was the power and he was the lever in the education of their children—in fact, in all success in life, for they worked in harmony. . . . He never aspired to office, but was a recognized leader at home and abroad, in social and religious circles. . . .⁵

Elizabeth Nimmons, Holland McTyeire's mother, was a robust person, able to bear eleven children and give them meticulous care while carrying the manifold and heavy responsibilities of plantation life amid the hardships inherent in pioneer living more than a century ago. Like her husband, she had little formal education in a day before school systems existed in the lower south, and only rudimentary tutoring was available. The letters which she wrote were nevertheless very character revealing. She possessed remarkable descriptive powers, a lively imagination which enabled her to picture clearly to her correspondent the status and especially the perplexities of the McTyeire domestic affairs, and a sincerity which no reader can doubt. Often she slipped into a bit of quaint humor. Generally considerate and serious, her letters always reflect her strong religious nature. In spite of occasional errors of form, her gifts of expression carry her at times into a naïve but moving eloquence. It would be difficult to read the file of her letters, written mostly over a century ago, and fail to sense the impact of a strong personality which seems to live still.

Holland McTyeire was one of those not uncommon boys whose love and admiration for his mother were exhibited in a devotion which was more than filial. Like Lee and Lincoln, he attributed most of what he was able to achieve to the influence of his mother. Her letters to him, particularly when he was away at school and

⁵ Cherry, F. L., *The History of Opelika and Her Agricultural Tributary Territory (Opelika Times of uncertain date)*.

college, indicate that perhaps more than everything else, she directed and kept his feet in the paths of righteousness. She was his constant guide and ever watchful stimulus toward the dedication of his life to service in the upbuilding of God's Kingdom. The impetus and encouragement his mother gave him followed him throughout life and held him steadfast to his task of building the Church, though this involved him in various challenging enterprises. Many tempting opportunities were rejected by him including a position of great responsibility and paying a lucrative salary, which was offered him by Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt.

When Andrew Nimmons presented John McTyeire and Elizabeth a part of his plantation, as already noted, he also gave the young couple one of his favorite, most industrious, and trusted slaves—a young Negro, Cyrus by name, affectionately called "Uncle Cy." With the help of the latter, McTyeire immediately set about building a log cabin for his bride. This was completed and the young couple occupied their new home late in the fall of the year 1820.

Holland McTyeire was born July 28, 1824, in the log house that his father and Uncle Cy built. The home is now gone but the approximate site is evident from the location of the well, which still remains. The old well is about a quarter of a mile from the site of the Nimmons mansion; this site is now a mere stone's throw from the railroad station of the modern town of Govan, and it is situated in the midst of what was once the Nimmons plantation. At the time of Holland's birth, the "District" was called Barnwell. Subsequently, two counties were formed from it, Bamberg and Barnwell, with county seats of the same names. The town of Barnwell, which has a colonial aspect, is a flourishing community.

Holland was a solidly built boy, with grayish-blue eyes; lightish hair that became darker as he grew older, features regular and strong, head big and rounded, a frame straight and stout set on a pair of legs as sturdy as were ever used in a foot race, jumping match, tree climbing, or in any other of the numberless exercises by which a live boy keeps in motion all day long. He was not a precocious boy. No prematurely smart sayings of his childhood

have been reported. He was reticent rather than voluble; but he was wide awake, and he greeted inquisitively all that he saw in this new, strange world into which he had come. There were few idlers on that cotton plantation, where he acquired a taste for natural history and rural life that never left him. Early to bed and early to rise was the habit of them all, white and black. . . . to the end of his life he always spoke tenderly of his early home in "Old Barnwell." The first ten years of the boy's life color and, to some extent, shape all that come afterwards. The ground story of his character was laid during this period. At home he was taught to be respectful to his seniors and superiors, and to be submissive to rightful authority. Industry, economy, and systematic living were taught him by his Scotch-Irish parents. Not least among the educative influences brought to bear upon him during these first years was Methodism. The first books and newspapers he read were Methodist Publications. The only preaching he heard was Methodist preaching.⁶

The Negro, Cyrus, was the only life-long intimate that Holland had. Their relations as slave, freedman, and "friend" will unfold with our narrative. Cyrus' wife, "Aunt Bess," was an experienced midwife and may have attended at Holland's birth. Cy's life-span of ninety years covered all but Holland's last two years. When the old man died, Holland wrote a letter, in tribute to his black associate, filled with pathos, humor, and affection that one critic said he would have rather written than to have been a bishop, and another pronounced "a more satisfactory and truthful delineation of the old plantation patriarch than Mrs. Stowe's 'Uncle Tom.'"⁷

This oft-quoted and printed elegy sheds much light on Holland the boy:

Uncle Cy, as the children always called him, taught me to ride a horse, and, later on, to shoot a gun. He shook hickory nuts out of tall trees and rived trap sticks for me to catch birds; made cute bows and arrows and in the Springtime could peel off bark from saplings and make me the grandest whistles, or plat the most glorious popping whips in the world. . . . It was a great treat to be permitted to "go to town" with Uncle Cy on the cotton wagon. There was *one* to whom he bore a tender loyalty, and for whom he had three names, Missus, Your Mudder, and Miss Betsy. To her he felt amenable for the lad's safety, and he well knew how to afford him the utmost fun within safety limits. When the bright camp fire was kindled, and the team halted and fed for the night, Uncle Cy would bring out that frying-pan—his only culinary apparatus—and work up a savory meal.⁸

⁶ Fitzgerald, *op.cit.*, pp. 77-78.

⁷ W.J.S., *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, Macon, Ga., January 15, 1889.

⁸ H.N.M., Letter to Editor, *Southern Christian Advocate*, Columbia, S.C., January 6, 1887.

This letter cannot fail to impress the realization that Holland was a normal country boy intrigued with the things that fascinate most boys in a rural environment. Riding, shooting, trapping, gathering nuts, going to town, camping, evidently were among his delights. Nor can it escape notice that this lad was filled with veneration and admiration for his black companion.

Life on the plantation gave Holland a love for flowers, trees, birds, and animals, in fact, all of the great out-of-doors, which no sedentary or in-door habits of his after life could ever efface or even mitigate. The same was true of his philosophy of life. As a mature man, he adhered to his early convictions on institutions, politics, society, and religion. His horizons widened. New areas of thought were explored and extensive activities entered upon, but the landmarks of his youth in South Carolina remained.

Holland, as a youngster, had for the most part as playmates his own brothers and sisters to whom he refers in the Uncle Cy letter. Of the eleven children, eight were born in Barnwell and three after the migration to Alabama. There were seven sisters and four brothers. The first-born, Lucy Montgomery, and the fifth, Jane Andrew, died in infancy; the former before Holland's birth and the latter in his seventh year. Holland always cherished the memory of the little sister he knew, and personally cared for the graves of both McTyeire infants until his death.

The second child was Henry Lawrence, about a year and a half older than Holland. They went away to school together at a tender age and were very close to each other the rest of Henry's life. He died comparatively young. He was, materially speaking, the most prosperous member of the family. The other children born in South Carolina were Caroline Jemima (1827), Jane Harriet (1831), John Calhoun (1834), and Elizabeth Andrew (1837). The three children born after the family moved to Alabama were William Capers (1840), Emily Lucretia (1842), and Cornelia Montgomery Hazeltine (1847).

In John McTyeire's life and times, religious emotions and political passions ran high. In naming one son John Calhoun, he revealed his political affiliation, and in naming another William

Capers, he divulged his religious preference. William Capers, a Methodist circuit rider, was the founder of the missions to slaves on South Carolina plantations, and became a bishop later.

At Andrew Nimmons' death, first his wife and then his eldest son, William Nimmons, inherited the plantation. The latter bequeathed half of it to Holland McTyeire as follows:

First, I give, bequeath and devise one half of the old Plantation to Holland Nimmons McTyeire for and during his natural life, and then to his surviving children provided the said Holland Nimmons McTyeire moves upon and resides on said half of the old plantation.⁹

This was an alluring proposition for Holland McTyeire, for his love of his birthplace and the people there was intense. Besides the property was quite valuable; however, he could not carry on his church work and move back to the plantation. So, he had to give up the life on the plantation, but he compromised with his relatives by taking only about five hundred acres and employing an agent. This land he retained until his death. He always relished edibles shipped him from this spot. He thought the potatoes—"tubers" he called them—were excellent. Up to his last days, he made frequent visits back to Barnwell and revelled in them. Shortly before his death he wrote: "Friday, I returned to Barnwell, and the home of my childhood; preached at Salem on Sunday, and saw aged friends and their generations; visited the graves of ancestors, (the holly bush is not bearing berries this year); howdy'ed with the family Negroes who 'lag superfluous on the stage'—Ike, Nancy, Long Sam, Robin, Ned—and then pursued my homeward way. Bless the old land and the people that dwell in it."¹⁰

⁹ From *Last Will and Testament* of William Nimmons, in Barnwell Court House.

¹⁰ Letter to W. D. Kirkland, published in *Southern Christian Advocate*, Columbia, S.C., January 6, 1887. Salem Church still stands in the woods with a portrait of Bishop McTyeire hanging in the pulpit. See *The News and Courier*, Charleston, S.C., July 25, 1947.

CHAPTER III

SOUTH CAROLINA IN THE EARLY COTTON ERA

EDGEFIELD DISTRICT, where John McTyeire was born and where many of the pre-revolutionary Scotch-Irish settlers made their homes, was in the hilly and rocky part of South Carolina known as the upcountry. Here were mostly "farmers" as contrasted with the "planters" of the low country or coastal plane in which Barnwell was located. The story of the migration of Protestants from Scotland to North Ireland and thence to America has been often told and will not be repeated here.

On America's scroll of fame, Scotch-Irish names are legion both in civil and military affairs. Among them were the revolutionary heroes John Stark and "Mad" Anthony Wayne; dauntless explorers and pioneers such as Daniel Boone, George Rogers Clark and James Robertson; scientists, soldiers, and statesmen of later days included Asa Gray, Sam Houston, Thomas Benton, "Stonewall" Jackson, and two South Carolinians, Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, who played important roles in the stormy period of Holland McTyeire's youth. In our times, Woodrow Wilson was outstanding. These are a few of the host of distinguished Americans of Scotch-Irish descent. It was from this stock that Holland's father had come. His mother was pure Irish.

A distinguished Presbyterian minister, Moses Waddel, who, incidentally, could appropriately be called the father of the University of Georgia, after despairing of the wickedness of Charleston, returned to the hill country and the Scotch-Irish pioneer people from whom he sprang. He preached in the Long Cane Settlement, Abbeville District, near the site of Cokesbury where Holland went to school and not far distant from his father's birthplace in Edgefield. Waddel's biographer gives a graphic picture of the very people among whom young McTyeire developed.

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These puritans of the South, with red Scottish blood flowing in their veins, after generations of domicile in Ireland were speaking "a half Scotch lingo with an Irish brogue."

A restless, moody, strong people, they were good haters, capable of chastising their enemies with a most "unchristian glee"; prizing liberty above all else, they were ready to grant to others the rights they claimed for themselves. . . . Low country men could sneer at the "spiritual wilderness" up in the hills; whisper of lax morals and naked unkempt children rolling about the cabin floors; but Waddel knew better. Never had men and women so suffered for their religious convictions as these. In their veins ran the blood of martyrs; theirs was the heritage not of Cowpens and King's Mountain, alone, but of the Covenanters, and of the battles of Boyne and Londonderry. Little more than a century had passed since the stroke of a British quill had outlawed the actual existence of 17,000 people, who asked nothing of man or state but the freedom to worship as they choose . . . women and men, tall and lean and fair, although there were dark ones among them, deep eyes burning with eagerness, gaunt faces marked deep with the lines of bitterness and suffering. A hard people, tenacious, fighting, unlovely perhaps. . . . Buckskin breeches and shirts of linsey-woolsey, gowns of homespun and sunbonnets, and here and there the glow of a scarlet coat, feminine concession to beauty in a Puritan background. . . . No, there was not much of Charleston or Augusta in these young women, whose hands would hold a hoe and the plow as readily as the hard fingers of their lovers.¹

Holland McTyeire was born just as the industrial revolution was getting under way in America. The incalculable consequences of the introduction of machines on the social, moral, economic, and political conditions have been emphasized exhaustively—almost *ad nauseam*—but the application of two inventions, the cotton gin and the steam engine, so profoundly affected our subject's way of life that they cannot be omitted in considering the circumstances that shaped the lad's destiny. Without these inventions, it is probable that the great cotton kingdom and the institution of slavery would not have developed as they did. War between the States and consequent rupture of political and religious institutions could have been averted or attenuated.

The steam-engines of Watt had been applied in England to spinning, weaving, and printing cotton; an immense demand had risen for that staple, and the cotton gin had been simultaneously invented. A sudden impetus was given to industry; land which had been worthless and estates which had been bankrupt acquired new value, and in 1800 every planter was grow-

¹ Coit, Margaret L., *Moses Waddel* (*Georgia Review*, Spring, 1951), p. 34.

ing cotton, buying negroes, and breaking fresh soil. North Carolina felt the strong flood of prosperity, but South Carolina, and particularly the town of Charleston, had most to hope. The exports of South Carolina were nearly equal in value, to those of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania; the imports were equally large. Charleston might reasonably expect to rival Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. . . . A cotton crop of two hundred thousand pounds sent abroad in 1791 grew to twenty millions in 1801, and was to double again in 1803. An export of fifty thousand bales was enormous, yet was only the beginning. What use might not Charleston, the only considerable town in the South, make of this golden flood?

The town promised hopefully to prove equal to the task. No where in the Union was intelligence, wealth and education greater in proportion to numbers than in the little society of cotton and rice planters who ruled South Carolina.²

These developments suddenly lifted the Southern planters from bankruptcy to wealth and, because they believed that cotton could be cultivated successfully only by the Negro who was the property of the planter, slavery became fastened upon the cotton section of the South. Thus, self-interest, unwittingly perhaps, drove the cotton States into undemocratic, immoral, and brutalizing tendencies that threatened the welfare and integrity of the nation. The planters and the gentry of the South honestly thought that slavery was a God-given institution amply justified by biblical teachings and mutually beneficial to master and slave. Those of the North, with no economic interest involved, with abolition spreading, saw only barbarism and human degradation in the slave society.

The evils of slavery were excessive in South Carolina. Before cotton became king, rice and indigo were the great crops and, like cotton, depended upon slave labor. Authorities point out that the numbers of constantly increasing newcomers and the actual proportion of slaves to whites was relatively greater than in any other part of the South. For example:

About 1760 the inhabitants of North Carolina were reckoned at 200,000, of whom one fourth were slaves; those of South Carolina at 150,000, of whom nearly or quite three fourths were slaves.³

The dread of insurrection and necessity for control over such

² Adams, Henry, *History of the United States* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1891), I, pp. 37-38.

³ Fiske, John, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (Houghton, Mifflin and Co., New York, 1897), II, p. 329.

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large gangs of Negroes is thought to have created a less human and a more commercial character to the system.

Another important aspect of steam-driven engines was the application to transportation, with results as far-reaching as those of the power-loom and the cotton gin. It revolutionized travel and freight movements and introduced a new epoch as did the invention of the internal combustion engine nearly a century later. Holland McTyeire was born just at the right time and in the exact place to witness the advent of railroading in the United States. Circumstances, growing out of cotton culture in South Carolina, gave an early impetus to the advent of the railroad.

Holland describes his first trip to Charleston in 1832 (then in his eighth year) and mentions seeing the "Charleston and Augusta Railroad." ⁴ This was the first steam railroad in America. Water-transportation and canal-building were developing rapidly. George Washington had started this by surveying the Chesapeake and Potomac Canal along which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad runs today. He invested in this canal, thinking no doubt it would be the artery that would develop the West. As the cotton kingdom expanded in the southwest, the Savannah River carried increasing cargoes from Augusta and other points for shipment abroad, chiefly to English mills. The bright hopes of Charleston, predicted by Henry Adams, were blasted somewhat by the river traffic. From 1810 to 1820, the population increased by only eighty persons, from 24,700 to 24,780.⁵ Necessity proved to be the mother of invention and enterprise.

While the Baltimore and Ohio was experimenting and considering, the South Carolina Railroad had a locomotive built in New York to its own design, had it shipped to Charleston, set it up on the first six mile stretch of completed track, and there, in the last month of the year, 1830, THE BEST FRIEND OF CHARLESTON pulled the first train of cars ever drawn by a steam locomotive engine upon a track on the American continent.⁶

⁴ H.N.M., Letter to editor, *Nashville Christian Advocate*, January 31, 1885.

⁵ Adams, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 156.

⁶ From *This Fascinating Railroad Business*, by Robert S. Henry, copyright 1942, 1946, used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

Note the implications of the name of the locomotive "Best Friend." It had four wheels and an upright boiler. The cars were stage coaches on a track of iron strips on stone sills. By 1833, the South Carolina Railroad had extended from Charleston to Hamburg, a town on the Savannah River opposite Augusta, Georgia, a distance of one hundred and thirty-six miles. "It is of peculiar interest and worthy of special note that the South Carolina Railroad, at the time of its completion, was the longest railroad in the world and twice as long as any in America."⁷ This was the first railway line in this country to carry mail. It crossed the northern portion of Barnwell District about ten miles from the spot where Holland McTyeire opened his eyes.⁸

The year 1824, when the subject of our story was born, marked the end of the "era of good feeling." President Monroe, as he approached the close of his administration, made a good-will tour with excellent repercussions. He was feted lavishly in Charleston. Hardly less happy was a triumphal tour by the Marquis de Lafayette, gallant soldier of the Revolution. His farewell visit to America, as Clay suggested, served as a kind of realization of the vain hope that the Father of the Country might come back and see the changes time had wrought.

While the year of Holland McTyeire's birth was attended with these felicities, at the same time it opened a veritable political Pandora's box. Tariff rates increased on cottons and woollens; wool was taken off the free list. This made conditions difficult in the cotton belt. Later, in 1838, came the ill-famed "tariff of abominations" which was palpably discriminatory against the agrarian section of the country and favored the industrial parts. Nowhere was there greater resentment than in South Carolina where resistance to the obnoxious tariff laws was met with keen opposition. John McTyeire, who served for a considerable period as Sheriff of Barnwell District, was a political leader. He was inevitably drawn into the turmoil and involved in the intense issues, some of which, States rights, for example, are alive today. At this time

⁷ Derrick, Samuel M., *Centennial History of the South Carolina Railroad* (The State Co., Columbia, S.C., 1930) p. 59.

⁸ See Map, *ibid.*, p. 53.

South Carolina assumed the leadership which Virginia had exercised up to this point over the South. John C. Calhoun was Vice-President, and another Carolinian by birth, Andrew Jackson, was President. They were friends. The former proclaimed the doctrine of nullification which was tantamount to an attempt to nullify federal laws that conflicted with state laws on the threat of secession. No other state took such drastic action as South Carolina, though most Southern legislatures had declared the tariff laws unjust. In an historic forensic battle in the United States Senate in 1830, Hayne, the leading Southern protagonist in the Senate, debated the issue with Daniel Webster. On April 13 of that same year, at a Democratic dinner celebrating Jefferson's birthday in Washington, President Jackson, disillusioned, warned his Carolina friends with his noble toast, "Our Federal Union! It must be preserved." To which Vice-President Calhoun replied: "The Union; *next* to our liberty the most dear; only to be preserved by respecting the rights of the States."

Nevertheless, in November 1832, by authority of the legislature, a Nullification Convention met in Columbia and declared the obnoxious tariff acts "null, void and no law, nor binding upon the State." This ordinance went further and threatened secession if the federal government attempted to reduce the State to obedience by force. The legislature assembled in December and undertook to provide for a military force, arms, and ammunition "to repel invasion."

It was in accord with this act of the legislature that John McTyeire organized and became captain of a company in Barnwell. Justification for action which now seems ridiculous can only be found in the character of the representation in the Nullification Convention:

The 162 delegates who gathered at Columbia on the 19th of November were, socially and politically, the élite of the State: Hamiltons, Haynes, Pinckneys, Butlers—almost all the great families of a State of great families were represented.⁹

⁹ Reproduced from "The Reign of Andrew Jackson" by Frederic A. Ogg, Vol. 20, p. 170, *THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA*. Copyright Yale University Press.

The early nineteenth century witnessed some strong trends in the social culture of the young nation which had become free and was now feeling its lack of restraint. Theatres which had been taboo and even burned by law began to appear. Games and sports such as horse-racing, cock-fighting, and shooting matches, for high stakes, became popular. Lotteries came into general vogue and profits from these were employed upon public buildings, schools, colleges, libraries, and even churches. Intemperance was almost without let or hindrance.

Some distinguished visitors came from Europe, stimulated by curiosity and interest in the progress of the new nation. Books of interpretation and travel appeared. Some like de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* have become classical; in contrast, Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of Americans* was so realistic and critical as to be, according to Mark Twain:

. . . handsomely cursed and reviled by this nation. Yet she was merely telling the truth, and this indignant nation knew it. She was painting a state of things which did not disappear at once. It lasted until well along in my youth, and I remember it. . . . Of all the tourists I like Dame Trollope best. She found a "civilization" here which you, reader, could not have endured; and which you would not have regarded as a civilization at all.¹⁰

Among the travelers of note, Miss Harriet Martineau, because of remarkable coincidences in time and place, throws much light on the environment of Holland McTyeire.

She toured the South in the eighteen-thirties and visited Augusta, Charleston, Mobile, New Orleans, and Nashville, among other places—all scenes of Holland McTyeire's life. Most of this travel was by stage but she rode the South Carolina Railroad from Augusta to Charleston and speaks of "disasters" among which was the late arrival at "four o'clock in the morning instead of six in the previous evening." She was enthusiastic about stage travel:

Nothing could well be easier than the whole undertaking. I do not remember a single difficulty that occurred all the way. There was much fatigue of course. In going down from Richmond with a party of friends, we were nine days on the road and had only three nights rest. . . . Yet I was very

¹⁰ Trollope, Frances, *Domestic Manners of Americans* (Albert A. Knopf, New York, 1949), Fly-page.

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fond of these long journeys. The traveller (if he be not an abolitionist) is perfectly secure of good treatment, and fatigue and indifferent fares are the only evils which need be anticipated. The toils of society in the cities were so great to me that I generally felt my spirits rise when our packing began; and the sorrow of parting with kind hosts once over, the prospect of a journey of many days was a very cheerful one. The novelty and the beauty of the scenery seemed inexhaustible, and the delightful American stages, open or closed all round at the will of the traveller, allow of everything being seen.¹¹

Miss Martineau was a staunch abolitionist and the inference is that some embarrassment occurred on this account. She writes with remarkable insight, is generally fair, often generous, and never fails to appreciate what she finds good.

Charleston, the one large city which Holland knew as a boy, she describes as she saw it from a church steeple:

Very fine! and the whole steeped in spring sunshine had an oriental air that took me by surprise. The city was spread out beneath us in a fanlike form, in streets converging toward the harbour. The heat and moisture give the buildings the hue of age. . . . The sandy streets, the groups of mulattoes, the women with turbaned heads, surmounted with water-pots and baskets of fruit; the small panes of the house windows; the Yucca bristling in the gardens below us, and the hot haze through which we saw the blue main and its islands, all looked so oriental as to strike us with wonder. We saw Ashley and Cooper rivers, bringing down produce to the main, and were taught the principal buildings—the churches and the Custom-house, built just before the Revolution—and the leading streets, Broad and Meeting streets intersecting and affording access to all we were to see.¹²

She was naturally deeply interested in the preparation for war growing out of nullification. Governor Hayne and Mr. Calhoun took her to the arsenal where she saw the arms and ammunition:

. . . and all the warlike apparatus which was made ready during the nullification struggle. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Calhoun seriously meant to go to war with such means as his impoverished state could furnish; but there is no doubt that he did intend it. The ladies were very animated in their accounts of their State Rights Ball, held in the area of the arsenal and their subscriptions of jewels to the war fund. They were certainly in earnest. . . . The soldiers were paraded in our presence, some eleven or twelve recruits, I believe; and then Mr. Calhoun first, and Governor Hayne

¹¹ Martineau, Harriet, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1938), I, pp. 209-210; II, pp. 8-11; cf. *Society in America* (Saunders and Otley, New York and London, 1837), for an interesting account of the first trip on the South Carolina Railroad.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

afterward, uncovered and addressed them with as much gravity and effusion of patriotic sentiment as if we had been standing on the edge of a battle-field.¹³

One other excerpt will contrast Miss Martineau's impressions of the Orphan-House with those of Holland McTyeire as a boy:

The Orphan-House has been established about forty years, and it contained at the time of my visit, two hundred children. As none but whites are admitted, it is found to be no encouragement to vice to admit all destitute children, whether orphans or not; for the licentiousness of the South takes the women of colour for its victims. The children in this establishment are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and the girls sewing; but the prejudice against work appears as much here as anywhere. No active labour goes on; the boys do not even garden. . . . The children are taken in from the age of two years, but they generally enter at the ages of four, five or six. I was rather surprised to see them badged, an anti-republican practice which had better be abolished; but I wondered the less when I observed the statue of Pitt still standing in the courtyard, with the right arm shot off in the war, however.¹⁴

Bishop McTyeire, writing fifty-two years after his visit to Charleston as a boy of eight, paints the happy reaction of the unsophisticated child—a striking contrast with the young English abolitionist, ever alert to detect and portray the shadows of slavery. He writes of the several days' visit to Charleston and the wonderful sights which his father showed him:

The best remembered scene was the Orphan-House. They have put a new front to it, and the lot seems very much smaller. This grand charity continues to be the care and pride of the City by the Sea. "Now I am going to show you ever so many poor little boys and girls who have no father or mother" remarked my father, as he led me to the place. What a revulsion of surprise I experienced as we entered the inclosure and saw a crowd of little boys and girls filling the yard, and as merry and chatty as a flock of rice-birds! Comparing dates, it is probable that the first Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States was one of that crowd.¹⁵

In the post-revolutionary period, religious activity quickened among all denominations. It is the period of birth and rapid growth of Methodism. John Wesley did not intend to found a new Church. He wanted to regenerate religion which had sunk to a

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹⁵ H.N.M., *Nashville Christian Advocate*, January 31, 1885.

low ebb. Before the war, societies of Methodists were organized and served by Anglican clergymen. The English Church was the established Church in South Carolina from 1706 until the Revolution. When war came, the English clergy, with the exception of Francis Asbury, fled the country. When independence came to the colonies, Wesley was compelled to make some provision for the administration of ordinances such as baptism and the sacrament. He sent over Bishop Thomas Coke to ordain Francis Asbury as General Superintendent, an office which avoided the title of Bishop but carried the same powers. Asbury refused ordination at the decree of Wesley but was unanimously approved by delegates from all the Methodist societies in a Conference that assembled in Baltimore, at Christmas, 1784. This was the origin of the Methodist Church. Asbury became its leader and the pioneer Protestant bishop on this continent.

The day after the historic Christmas Conference, Bishop Asbury got on his horse and rode forty miles en route to Charleston which was to become the center from which Methodism spread to other parts of the country. Asbury made thirty-eight subsequent visits to Charleston, where he observed "The inhabitants are vain and wicked."

Methodism rode the crest of the wave of religious enthusiasm which came as a reaction from the licentiousness of the eighteenth century. Among the factors that contributed to its rapid growth were its genuine religious fervor, its liberalism which extended it to all classes and all races, its organization and leadership—the most significant being the principle of the itinerancy. In a pioneer civilization without facilities for travel, the circuit riders carried the gospel to all—not only to the dens of iniquity in the cities, but to the settlers in the open country, to the aristocratic planters and their black slaves on the plantations, to the Indians on the reservations, and others.

In 1884, Bishop McTyeire presided in Charleston at the ninety-ninth session of the South Carolina Conference, "Mother of Conferences," as he characterized it. This was his first visit since boyhood, though he had passed through the city often. He wrote a

report of the Conference together with reminiscences to the Nashville *Advocate*, which was in accord with a custom of contributing to the Church publications. Of the boyhood visit to which reference has been made, he wrote:

Camping out, ferrying the river, and a thousand strange scenes, made the trip more memorable than one fifty years later across the Atlantic Ocean. On Sunday my father took me to church. Mighty fine! It was as far ahead of Salem and Springtown as the shiny broadcloth suits of the little boys were ahead of my country jeans. The Old Bethel, of that day, has been moved across the street. . . . Our cotton sold, and family dry-goods and groceries, shoes and saws and axes and hats and saddles, and various notions, laid in—among them that wonder of our rural neighborhood, a hand-bellows for kindling fire on the hearth—we began the four days' journey homeward. But not until a trade, a two-fold commercial transaction, had been made, the lively satisfaction of which is so avidly recalled as though it happened yesterday. Those were ante-railroad days—the Charleston and Augusta Railroad was then being laid—and they were the days of round cotton-bales. The load was fastened down across the wagon-body with two hickory poles—one at each end; and these poles were the perquisites of the small boy. They brought me seven pence! an incredible valuation, considering how we made log-heaps of the like and burnt them for nothing. Close by was an old Negress with a ginger-cake stand, with whom the "sev'puns" was satisfactorily invested: and that lad left "town" with impressions in its favor which a late visit has revived and deepened.¹⁶

Then followed an historical summary which fittingly brings this chapter to a close:

No place on the continent is so rich in Methodist memories as Charleston, and I was in the mood to enjoy them. Here, in 1737, was printed and published the first Wesleyan Hymn-book in the world—a fac-simile of which has lately been reproduced. Here, in 1740, Whitefield took up the first collection in America for his Orphan-House, and always found the Carolinians generous. Here in St. Philip's he was excluded, not only from the pulpit, but from the sacrament, for the irregularity of field-preaching and preaching in unconsecrated meeting-houses; and here the important bigot of a Commissary issued a sentence of suspension against the most eloquent and soul-saving ambassador of the Lord Jesus in the Western Hemisphere. Both the Wesleys preached in Charleston, and it was Coke's landing place as he came from the West Indies. Late in February, 1785, Asbury and Lee and Willis entered the city to plant Methodism, much like Paul and Silas and Timothy entered Philippi. Their successors included a noble army—some of them martyrs—"of whom the world was not worthy."¹⁷

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ H.N.M., *ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE DAYS

IN approaching the important area of education, we must call attention to the fact that the McTyeires were caught up in the tides of religious enthusiasm and swept into the Methodist flock by the indefatigable circuit riders:

All the existing religious denominations and all classes of people were made tributary to the great movement. The scattered and unfolded sheep of other flocks were found by the untiring, ubiquitous Methodist Circuit riders, whose gospel presented to them the five points of a universal atonement, repentance, justification by faith, the witness of the Holy Spirit, and full salvation in the present tense. The McTyeires, husband and wife, believed, were converted, and forthwith joined in the song of joy and march of triumph of the advancing Methodism columns.¹

Holland was thus born in a Christian home and reared by pious parents. He attended first the Salem Church in the woods near his home but the schools which he attended were most responsible for directing him into religious activity. State school systems did not exist in the South in ante-bellum days. Public schools were patronized by the poor and those who had no other opportunity. The planters often employed tutors and private instruction predominated. Many readers will recall the little school in Washington's Mount Vernon estate.

Henry and Holland McTyeire trudged several miles each day to a one-room school at the beginning, but John McTyeire soon found a Methodist circuit rider, Samuel Proctor Taylor, who tutored the boys. From him they derived their best early education, judging from a remark of Holland's in later life to the effect that their mentor was held in grateful remembrance. At best, however, the educational opportunity for the boys was meager. Another circuit rider, William Clark Kirkland, father of a future Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, urged sending the boys to Cokesbury Institute, a Methodist school in the northern part

¹ Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

of the State. From its inception, the Methodist Church laid strong emphasis on education. It sprang from seed corn that was planted in Oxford University and one of Bishop Asbury's earliest acts was the establishment of a college at Abingdon, Maryland, which came to be called Cokesbury, in honor of Coke and Asbury, the first two Methodist bishops. Cokesbury Institute, which derived its name similarly, was one of many institutions of the kind that sprang up under Methodist influence and leadership over the South.

It was in 1837 that the father took the boys to Cokesbury Institute in Abbeville District. The boys had never gone away from home before and the upcountry, where their father was born, was so novel and different that the trip proved an exciting adventure, sidelighted by the father's earnest advice and exhortation. Holland's account of the trip, written many years later, is a revelation of the wonders of unfamiliar scenic effects and the earnestness of paternal homiletics:

Among the rest, a father from the low country brought up two sons, of twelve and thirteen and a half years old, and small for their age. In the gig, he had one at his side, the hair trunk strapped on behind, the other rode roan Hector, at an easy pace, keeping up with his match, Whitefoot, in the shafts. Rocks, wonderful things to a boy from the sand regions; some as big as your fist, others as big as your head.

"Father, what are these? *Are* these the things that make the mountains we see on the maps?"

"That is what I am taking you to Cokesbury for, my son, to learn all about it, and the like of it."

Higher up the country, the wonders grew. A chestnut tree! The very tree the delicious mellow nuts grew on? Well, the Eldorado must be near.

At Edgefield court house, the tavern-keeper showed us a room which the great M'Duffie occupied when reading law, called M'Duffie's room. His name was then, and long after, a household word in South Carolina. How many lectures on the advantage of education, the profit of knowledge, the importance of improving early opportunities, did the small room, and the history of him who had once been an obscure student in it afford for us two along the way! In all shapes and by every act the lesson was plied, to rouse ambition, to kindle hope, to inspire courage. "See my sons, see what education can do for a poor young man. Nothing can keep him back. Think what M'Duffie was then, and is now. Improve your mind well, and, though you may have nothing else, an education is more than a fortune. Wealth may be lost, *that* stays by you, etc."

Clay, and more clay, and hardly any white sand! Strange country. No long leaf pine trees. How do the folks kindle fires in these parts? What hills!

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A father must not betray any weakness. O no! But—"My sons, you know your mother will be anxious about you; therefore you must write home very often. Your mother will feel uneasy if she does not get a letter from you every week. So take it turn about and write. . . ."

Of course *he* felt no particular interest in the weekly bulletins!

"Now you must behave well. Remember to be polite to everybody. If, however, rude boys try to run over you and abuse you, don't whine or back out. Fight, even if you get whipped. Stand up to your rights; use no bad words though. You two little fellows are by yourselves—no kin, no acquaintances, and far from home. Stick close together; take up for one another."

A sad, lone feeling came over the two little fellows as they stood under the hickory tree upon which the bell was swung in those days. Father had turned homeward and Hector's tail was just disappearing in a turn of the road, as he trotted loose after the gig. A stern but loving parent, doubtless he breathed to Heaven, as he left us, that patriarchal prayer: "The Angel that redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads." And the lads were blessed—how, I shall tell. One only is now left. The other is not; and he, the father, has passed over too. We stood gazing wistfully the way the gig went, too full for talk. But there is relief—the bell rang to duty.²

Cokesbury Institute was a famous school with a long and enviable history. It evolved from several preliminary ventures, the first of which was Tabernacle Academy established by a Methodist society about the year 1800. Bishop Asbury preached at Tabernacle at that time. The Academy has an unforgettable place in Methodist history because Stephen Olin, one of the towering figures of early Methodism, became its master and teacher. Olin was a brilliant graduate of Middlebury College, Connecticut, whose collapse in health at the time of his graduation brought him South in search of strength and employment. Later he was a member of the faculty of Franklin College, nucleus of the University of Georgia, and first President of Randolph-Macon College, where Holland was destined to go in due time.

About Olin, Holland wrote:

The reader of Dr. Olin's life finds that he struck into that Southern life which developed him at Cokesbury. A young man, broken in health, without money or friends, he picked up a newspaper in Augusta, Georgia, and guided by an advertisement went to a little village in Abbeville District (I do not remember the name it bore then)³ to apply for a place in the school. As he approached, a man in his shirt sleeves was hewing logs. He was one of the trustees—Rev. James E. Glenn. Olin was a sceptic but soon became religious,

² H.N.M., *Reminiscences of Cokesbury*, *The Southern Christian Advocate*, republished posthumously, August 12, 1897.

³ [Cambridge].

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and then was licensed to preach. I have been shown the old church where the brilliant ministerial career began, and even the old oak tree with which, it was said, the awakened sinner wrestled for pardon.⁴

In 1824, better soil and health conditions prompted the Tabernacle community, Church, and school to move to a place they named Mount Ariel, about two miles north of their previous location and said to be the highest point between Augusta and Greenville.⁵ Here was established Mount Ariel Academy.

In 1832, the North Carolina and Virginia Conferences resolved to establish Randolph-Macon College as a joint enterprise. It had been chartered in 1830. Mount Ariel became a preparatory school for the college on the recommendation of a committee, which reported in 1834: "We select Mount Ariel as a suitable site for a Conference school, to be conducted on the manual labor system, preparatory to Randolph-Macon or any other college. . . ." ⁶ The name was changed to Cokesbury Conference Institute, which opened for students in 1835. Holland and Henry McTyeire entered in January, 1837, and remained only that year, as the family moved to Alabama the next year. The Reverend A. H. Mitchell became the first rector, with whom Holland "had most to do." Concerning him and others in the faculty, and the school itself, Holland subsequently penned the following observation:

He singularly inspired fear and love. His voice and altitude subdued a boy right off; and his higher qualities continued the beneficial sway. Often since, I have met him on the Conference floor and the platform, and am afraid of him still.⁷

Other members of the faculty were: Jacob Nipper, Tutor; Matthew Williams, Professor of Mathematics; and James Dannely, pastor and spiritual father of the concern. It was a manual labor school, where the body and mind were both taught to labor. It was Methodist inside and outside—in the school, the church and the field, at the table, and at the blackboard. How could I help being a Methodist? I thank God that that year there was a

⁴ H.N.M., *ibid.*

⁵ Peele, C. E., Address at South Carolina Conference, Spartanburg, October 30, 1934.

⁶ Shipp, A. M., *The History of Methodism in South Carolina* (Nashville, Tenn., 1884), p. 558.

⁷ H.N.M., *op. cit.*

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warm, old-fashioned Methodist revival. In the providence of God, I was converted.⁸

The Cokesbury Institute, therefore, was a religious institution, conducted on the manual labor plan, about which Holland wrote:

The manual labor experiment was new and popular, as it deserved to be. It mixed physical exercise with mental exercise; developed muscles and the brain. Pity it is that such institutions have gone out of vogue. They had but a short run. Boys don't like to work; and when parents consult them as to where they shall go, be sure that, after a few trials of it, when the frolic of labor is worn off, boys will not choose manual-labor schools. Three hours a day of honest sweat and dust kills off dandyism; the keen appetite makes plain food savory; and the alternation of indoor and out, of book and plough, keeps the faculties from stagnating. Especially for southern boys were manual-labor schools needful. There is a tendency in slave toil to degrade labor in its popular estimation. Even those sensible parents who would raise their sons to industrious habits, and secure for them that blessing "*mens sana in corpore sano*," are reluctant to expose them to servile companionship in the field. By the manual-labor schools, the stigma of toil was removed, for the sons of the rich and poor met in the same field. . . . I speak of those days when we read Caesar and Virgil in the morning; and in the afternoon, from two to five o'clock, mustered into rank, with axes, rakes, and handspikes, and drove the team afield. Those were mighty good days. I wish that my boys might have such.⁹

The religious life of Cokesbury was very real and there is no doubt that the conversion Holland claimed was a genuine experience. Some writers have expressed the opinion that he was troubled because he could not recall the time and place when he dedicated himself to the Christian life. His testimony is conclusive on the point. He definitely confesses a change of heart and the birth of religious experience at the revival already mentioned at Cokesbury. He describes the occasion on this wise:

Sometimes in February, the pious students, observing and taking advantage of serious impressions in the school, called a prayer-meeting. It was held on Sunday night, after preaching, in one of the largest rooms. How opportune is a good prayer-meeting! It is like shaking the tree when the fruit is ready to fall. It represents to the sinner just what he needs—an opportunity to pass from conviction to action. Such a well-timed prayer-meeting was this. . . . I had gone nearly around the room—interested but not involved; or, as the philosophers would say, I was in a wholly objective state, not at all subjective. Well enough for those engaged, but the thought had not occurred

⁸ H.N.M., *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, January 15, 1913.

⁹ H.N.M., *Reminiscences of Cokesbury*.

about my part in the matter. . . . My father, on leaving, had introduced us to him, and asked B. F. C. to look after us. This he did, and so gentle was he, that I took a loving refuge under his stronger arm. Seeing him in prayer-meeting made it reality. Not more gratified was Aeneas, in the land of shades, on coming up with Palinurus. Drawing me to his side, and calling my name—"Don't you want to be a Christian? You ought to pray, too." I hadn't a word to say. He placed a chair before me, and I kneeled down at once on my knees. I began to think, and then to pray. Thank God! I have been praying ever since and hope to continue till prayer is lost in praise. I have a mind to tell here how I was converted, as that is the most important passage in every one's life; but mine is not a very singular experience, and might not interest. . . . When the door of the church was opened, fifty-six of us went up and gave our hands to the preacher. My brother and I were in the number, and we wrote home the joyful news.

The church which the boys joined and attended in Cokesbury was housed in a building erected that year and was still standing in good condition in 1934.¹⁰

Holland apparently profited well from his manual labor. He writes:

We made a fair crop in the field—corn and fodder, peas, potatoes and cotton—and gathered it; besides clearing some ground. In the school room our examinations passed off well. Collier made the valedictory, and as it was the first one I ever heard, it made me cry heartily. How little did I then suppose that "*vale, vale, longum vale*" could ever wear out. But college days and commencements can wear out anything. The best part was yet to come. The steward called the laborers and gave them a check on the Treasurer for their time. Every boy was graded in manual labor as in study. The stoutest and steadiest "hands" got paid at the rate of three cents an hour; this was the maximum. The brush gang got much less. As for me, I never was any great thing at working; but my pile astonished me. *Shin*-plasters had just come into vogue, and the amiable Treasurer, Mr. Shackelford, to please us, had sent down to Augusta and got a supply for the occasion. Five cents looked like five dollars, and felt the same in the pocket. When it came to paying out, though, you got poor fast. Seriously, that money was not the least valuable part of the education obtained at Cokesbury. Had our fathers or rich uncles given the same sum to us, none of us would have known its value. Come easy, go easy. But we had labored for it, and that labor furnished us with a unit of value whereby to estimate its worth. Every five cents stood for two or three hours of sweat and dust; and with the blisters on his hands, almost any boy would look at least five times at it before giving five cents for a cigar, that is puffed away in a few minutes leaving a residuum of ashes and smoke.¹¹

¹⁰ The author spoke in this church at the centennial anniversary of the foundation of *Cokesbury Conference Institute*.

¹¹ H.N.M., *ibid*.

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Although one year of schooling at age thirteen could not produce much education of a formal character, Cokesbury obviously made and left some important imprints on the boy which in turn profoundly affected the character of the man. The most significant impression that shaped his life was doubtless the development of the religious side of his nature. He acquired also a proper valuation of work, of money, and more than these, of friendship. His *Reminiscences*, written twenty-two years after he left the school, display that tenderness in the man's heart that he described in the boy. His grave and seemingly stern manner concealed this from many who judged him by exterior appearance. His testimony on what Cokesbury did for him is unmistakable. His final tribute was:

With grateful love I shall regard the Providence that directed my steps there, for the trunk was packed more than once to start for other places. May all our church schools send forth a generation to bless them as I do, in my heart, bless Cokesbury. . . . I love it still. It is in the care of a noble Conference, and long may it live. If I were rich, I would endow it.

Holland's love of Cokesbury could not have failed to increase his appreciation of the interest of the circuit rider, William Clark Kirkland, who had advised sending him to Cokesbury, and years later, added to his "especial pleasure in offering Kirkland's son the position of Professor of Latin at Vanderbilt University in 1886." ¹²

Too much space would be required to recount the host of prominent and successful men who were associated with Cokesbury Institute, but some, especially those whose lives touched the career of Holland McTyeire, can be mentioned. Naturally many were churchmen. Reference has already been made to Kirkland, the father of Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt. There was also Dr. W. M. Wightman, first President of Wofford College, who played the leading role of policy-making at Cokesbury and who was elected Bishop by the same Conference which elected Holland McTyeire; and Bishop Ellison Capers, of the Episcopal

¹² Mim, Edwin, *Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt* (Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1940), p. 5.

Church, also a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army. The list includes United States senators, representatives, governors, judges, authors, publishers, and scholars. One of the most influential men was J. D. B. DeBow, Editor of *DeBow's Review*, for years a leading publication of the South. He came to Cokesbury just after Holland left and wrote about the school with the same kind of appreciation. Another was John Gary Evans, Governor of South Carolina, and President of the Constitutional Convention of 1895. Among educational leaders was President W. C. Bass, of Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Georgia, the oldest college for women in America; and the great scholar Charles Forster Smith, whom McTyeire brought from Wofford to Vanderbilt, and who finished a distinguished career at the University of Wisconsin. Cokesbury drew students from all over the South and from as far away as California.¹³

It is a matter of congratulation that our standard of scholarship is good, and that, however it may have been in the case of kindred institutions, no student of Cokesbury was ever rejected on his application to enter any college in the country.¹⁴

Commencement being over, Henry and Holland took the stage to Aiken and the South Carolina Railroad thence to Barnwell. They found their father preparing for a move. Times were hard. A financial stringency was spreading over the whole country. The removal of the Indians at that time from Georgia and Alabama to the West offered new opportunities for the whites in the vacated lands. A tide of emigration started from the Atlantic seaboard. In the summer of 1838, the McTyeires moved with this into an area in Russell County in eastern Alabama which had been the habitat of the Uchee Indians. The post office, three miles from the McTyeire home, was called Uchee. The nearest city was Columbus, Georgia, only a few miles distant. The financial situation and the distance from Uchee made it impossible for the boys to return to Cokesbury. Henry and Holland attended a neighborhood academy during the first year at their new home. Each boy had some cattle

¹³ For the list of alumni of Cokesbury, see Peele, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-39.

¹⁴ Report of the Board of Trustees, 1853.

and swine, but the earnings were insufficient for them to go away to school. Neither of them had definitely decided upon a vocation, but Holland yearned for better educational opportunities such as they had enjoyed at Cokesbury. John McTyeire was ready to make every possible sacrifice that his son's hopes might be fulfilled. The next year, Holland left home again, about which he wrote:

I love my father, and my heart glows when I think of the pains he took to give me the inestimable advantages of religious training. When I was twelve years old, he hitched up his horse and chaise . . . and jogged with me 140 miles and put me in a Methodist institution of learning. . . . Shortly afterward my father moved from South Carolina, of blessed memory, and I returned home. I saw the old gentleman overhauling a catalogue. I knew about what was coming. He hitched his horse to the same old gig, a little more dilapidated and hauled me 80 miles to Georgia, to a school where Dr. Thomas was master and teacher. One of the blessings I enjoyed was the benefit of his instruction and example for two years. There we had it over again; we marched to church and chapel. I heard Methodist prayers, we ate Methodist beef and bread, drank coffee, good coffee, made by a good old Methodist Negro. Why, of course, I was established and confirmed. I believed in that kind of confirmation. Like the woman who had been a Methodist a long time, a youngster desirous to chaff her said; "Aunt, the Bishop will be around soon; don't you want to be confirmed?" "La! bless your soul honey," she replied, "I've been confirmed a hundred times." And so, "I've been confirmed a hundred times."¹⁵

The school in Georgia where Holland spent the next two years was called Collinsworth Institute, another Methodist manual labor school of the same type as Cokesbury. It was located in Talbotton, Talbot County, Georgia, which once gave promise of rivalling Athens, the University city, as an educational center. There was a good college for women located there in addition to Collinsworth. Here the Supreme Court of Georgia sat for the first time; the spot is now designated by a marker.

The Master of Collinsworth, Reverend Doctor J. R. Thomas, native of Georgia, and an early graduate of Randolph-Macon College, had a profound and life-long influence on Holland, who is indirectly quoted as saying of Dr. Thomas, "It was not so much what he taught in his class room as what he was before his eyes in

¹⁵ H.N.M., *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, January 15, 1913.

his daily life, that caused him in later years to regard him with sentiments of mingled reverence and gratitude.”¹⁶

Thomas became President of a famous Methodist institution, Emory College, at Oxford, Georgia, now developed into Emory University, Atlanta. Later Dr. Thomas went to California and became President of Pacific Methodist College. After his retirement from the educational field, he acquired and operated a sheep ranch in Mendocino County. There Holland, after a lapse of thirty years, contacted his beloved mentor, by a long journey out of his way, when engaged in Episcopal visitation in the West.

Among the papers of Holland McTyeire are two relics of his activities at Collinsworth, both in his own handwriting. One bears the inscription, “My first speech—Collinsworth Ga. 1840.” It is an affirmative argument, made in a debate on the question: “Should emigration be restricted by law?” The other is a discourse on the benefits of “Agriculture.” The speech on emigration would be more properly entitled “immigration,” for in it he opposed admitting emigrants from abroad to the United States. As was usual in school debates in those days, the material was gathered from books and committed to memory. A fifteen-year-old boy could hardly have originated it. The four closely written legal-size pages bear the date “June 18th, 1840,” the author’s signature and the comment from Dr. Thomas “Very decent indeed. Memorize it well.” The speech on Agriculture much more than the other grew out of the boy’s experience, while he was growing up on a plantation, and is remarkable for a lad of his age. Dr. Thomas wrote this comment on the manuscript—“Excellent: Some trivial errors: but generally very correct and sensible.” Holland took pride in it, as he added this note: “This was spoken with some alterations on the 4 June 1841 at Collinsworth and passed with some eclat.”

It is worth while to digress a moment from Holland’s education to recall an incident involving the family slave, Cyrus, which occurred while he was a student at Collinsworth. The episode, though natural enough, appears to have etched itself indelibly

¹⁶ Fitzgerald, O. P.

upon the youth's mind. To an immature boy "Uncle Cy's" conduct at the time was regarded as disgraceful. Holland described it thus:

A sad case I remember to have occurred in Alabama about 1840. In a difficulty with the overseer, Uncle Cy rebelled and ran away, taking with him two other Negro men. They were gone over a year, and no tidings of them could be got. At last they turned up in South Carolina. It seems that they had made their way back to the old Barnwell neighborhood (a distance of over 300 miles), crossing the Chattahoochee, Flint, Oconee, Ockmulgee and Savannah Rivers; and becoming weary of hiding out, they voluntarily surrendered themselves. I was a boy at school at Collinsworth, Ga., when they passed along the road in the ragged and chop-fallen plight of runaways being returned home.¹⁷

Only vestiges of Collinsworth remain. The dormitories are gone. The commodious dwelling in which Dr. Thomas and his assistants once resided is occupied by Negroes and the classroom building used for storage.¹⁸

It was natural and, as events shaped up, almost inevitable that Holland McTyeire would go to the Methodist sponsored Randolph-Macon College, though his thirst for education and his ambitious nature could have led him anywhere. The determination came, significantly enough, at Collinsworth, according to Holland's own statement:

In the course of time my father came up to Commencement, and Dr. Thomas said "I am going to Randolph-Macon College, you had better send the boy with me." Times were hard; cotton only six cents per pound; the discount on money by the time it got to Virginia was 17 per cent. The sacrifice and effort on the part of my father was great, but he made it.

I was put to Randolph-Macon. Drs. Garland, Duncan, and Sims, were part of the faculty. Dr. David S. Doggett was the chaplain, and I think he preached there the best sermons I ever heard from him. Again it was Methodism permeating everything around. I began to love it; it was there the Lord called me to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, and I went. That is my experience.¹⁹

It was a sufficient recommendation of that College to me that my preceptor had graduated there, and so I accompanied him to his *Alma Mater* to enter as a student. By some mistake of dates, which (when there was no telegraph) was quite possible, we were too late; and at the depot, twenty miles from the college, we met a party of students on their way home, Commencement being over.²⁰

¹⁷ H.N.M., *Southern Christian Advocate*, Columbia, S. C., January 6, 1887.

¹⁸ The author made a visit to Talbotton, November 29, 1939.

¹⁹ H.N.M., *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, January 15, 1913.

²⁰ H.N.M., *Memorial Discourse*, David S. Doggett, Vanderbilt University, October 31, 1880.

By the kindness of his preceptor, Holland thus got to Randolph-Macon, then located at Boydton, Mecklenburg County, Virginia. The College, chartered by the General Assembly of Virginia, February 3, 1830, is the oldest Methodist college by date of incorporation, still in existence, in America.²¹

It is important to note that the College was saturated with Methodist fervor but it was not under denominational control. There was no organic connection with the Methodist Church. The incorporation was of Trustees, mentioned by name and with self-perpetuating powers. The Trustees were thirty in number, all of whom except four were Methodists. Three of the non-Methodists were prominent citizens of Boydton. Twelve were regular traveling preachers of the Virginia Conference; others were local preachers and Methodist laymen. Furthermore, the College has from the outset been sponsored and financially supported by neighboring Methodist Conferences, Reverend John Early, later Bishop of the Methodist Church, was the President of the Board of Trustees, for the first thirty-six years. The functions of the institution, as set out in the charter, were described as "a seminary of learning for the instruction of youth in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, agriculture, and the learned and foreign languages." Randolph-Macon, therefore, was set up as, and still is, a Liberal Arts College, with strong Methodist traditions, spirit, and support, but non-sectarian, though definitely Christian in its philosophy and teaching. A primary objective was the training of Methodist preachers. The Methodists of Boydton used the chapel as a place of worship. The founders, possibly influenced by Jeffersonian ideas, suggested its non-sectarian character in naming it for two distinguished congressmen, John Randolph, of Virginia, and Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, neither of whom was a Methodist or even re-

²¹ The data on Randolph-Macon College in this chapter is derived from (1) *History of Randolph-Macon College*, Richard Irby, A.B. 1844 (Whittet and Shepperson, Richmond, Va.); (2) The Charter; (3) The Catalogue of 1842; (4) *Universities and Colleges of the M. E. Church, South*, compiled by B. M. McKeown (General Board of Christian Education, Nashville, Tenn., 1933).

ligiously inclined. The double name was probably influenced by William and Mary. The same is true of Hampden-Sydney, Emory and Henry, and possibly other colleges.

Holland McTyeire's registration, dated August 11, 1841, is in his own handwriting and gives his address as Uchee, Russell County, Alabama. Correspondence with his father and mother during his first collegiate year, 1841-42, reveals that Holland was in dire financial straits at times, hard pressed by creditors, and mentally depressed. The College, only in its tenth year, was having a supreme test to keep its doors open in the financial crisis. The salaries of the faculty, which had been nominal at the beginning, were being cut and, in Holland's second year, President Garland, who had succeeded Stephen Olin, was advancing the College money from his small means. Both Holland and the College weathered the severe financial stringency.

Arriving too late for Commencement, Holland, then seventeen years old, did not have the means to return home and spent a lonely summer in the dormitory. His room, the record shows, was number 24, east wing. The old building still stands and is impressive, though long abandoned. The College was forced to close during a part of the War Between the States. Most of its endowment was dissipated. It reopened in 1866, and was moved to Ashland in 1868.

Holland or "Mac," as he was called by his fellow-students, was one of four boys who entered the class of 1844, after the freshman year, when there were thirty-three members. He graduated fourth among twelve other graduates. Richard Irby, the historian of the College, was a class-mate of Holland's. No better estimate of Holland's life at the College can be found than that of this associate of three years, who was in intimate daily contact with him. Perhaps Irby's statement would best orient the reader in Holland's character and ability as displayed in those formative years:

The fourth-honor man was Holland Nimmons McTyeire. Brought by his old preceptor, James R. Thomas, to Randolph-Macon, when otherwise he might have gone to a state school, he entered the Sophomore Class in 1841. College life was no pastime for him. His ambition would make it a stepping-stone to high position—as at first desired and designed—in the State. Like

Dr. Olin, no place lower than the highest would satisfy his ambition. To attain to this, all the power of an iron will moving the enginery of a somewhat slow but giant mind was bent and made subject. Had not a change come to divert him from his original intention, he would doubtless have become as notable in the councils and courts of the State as he became in the church. When he first came to college he appeared indifferent in church matters, though it was known he was a member. Whether this was the result of a lapsed religious life, or was the result of a struggle to still the promptings of conscience, is not known. But the call to a higher life, heard, doubtless, before, but a while unheeded, was emphasized in one of those sweeping revivals which Dr. Olin valued more than the laws of discipline, and which he pronounced as indispensable in college work. Worldly ambition ceased to be the mainspring of his action, and he began to seek to "have the mind which was in Christ." But it was no easy work to bend such a will in a new direction. It was like turning the mighty steamship on a different course. The passion to rule men around him, the gift of so doing (and it is the greatest gift with which man is endowed) was constantly asserting itself. It probably was "strong in death," but it was tempered and sanctified to other than selfish ends by that good spirit which subdued a Luther, a St. Paul, and a John Knox. What Randolph-Macon did for McTyeire, in strengthening his mental powers for what he was to become as editor and bishop and builder of a great university, in sobering and elevating his ambition and aspirations, and fitting him for the work he was called to do in and for the church, cannot be computed. He has made his mark as high as any son of his alma mater, possibly higher than any other.²²

Holland entered Randolph-Macon before the elective system was introduced into our colleges and pursued a prescribed curriculum, which included the classics, mathematics, a minimum of science, rhetoric, mental and moral philosophy, for the most part; with a few other scattering subjects. It was the traditional curriculum, which included the classics, mathematics, a minimum of science, with heavy emphasis on the classics. Latin and Greek were required for three years. Mathematics and its applications were just about as prominent.

Irby thought Holland's failure to achieve higher honors was probably due to lack of concentration on his studies and emphasis on extra-curricular activity. He especially wanted to excel as a speaker and a debater, and to this end he directed diligent efforts. There were two literary societies, the Washington and the Franklin, both with halls and libraries in the central section of the Main Building.

²² Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, pp. 82-83.

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Holland joined the Franklin Society and in the College parlance was a "Frank." Apparently, he developed pre-eminence as a debater. Let his classmate testify concerning his ability and accomplishment:

He was a hard student, a thoughtful, reserved young man. He was not prominent on the play-ground, though he was strong and hearty. He would have passed for an indolent man physically, but this appearance was due to the fact that he had no time to indulge in ordinary sport. He was preparing for the weekly tussle in the Hall when text-books were put aside. The same thoughtful countenance he had in manhood's prime characterized him when a boy of eighteen. He was the big man of the Frank Hall, though he had foemen worthy of his steel, who weekly wrestled with him. But he had the art of getting the laugh on his opponent by a subtle humor, as a supplement to an argument, which often made him the victor at the vote. It was not uncommon for him and his competitors to continue the session for two hours past the dinner hour, and all college men know that meant business.²³

Subsequent events demonstrated that this steady application and experience, added to what innate qualities he possessed, returned rich dividends. He became a peerless debater. Though always courteous and thoroughly composed, he was dreaded often in Conferences and Church councils. He was sometimes called "the fighting Elder." Contemporaries of later years amply vouch for the fitness of this epithet:

McTyeire was a great debater, said Judge East,²⁴ of Nashville: "McTyeire in a debate with a man of ordinary ability is like a man-of-war colliding with a little yawl—they are seen approaching each other, the man-of-war seeming scarcely to be moving at all, the yawl lightly and swiftly skimming the waves, until they meet—and then the yawl is invisible, and the big ship moves on as if nothing had happened." Our astute Methodist lawyer gauged him well. He guarded himself against incautious statements or rash assumptions, and was careful in the use of words. He was aggressive in his method, acting on the military axiom that the momentum of attack counts for much. He never stood long in a defensive attitude, but, gathering his forces, threw himself against his antagonist with such vigor that only the very strongest could withstand him. He took part in one way or another in all that was going on in the Church during the stormy transitional period in which he lived. Not seldom did it devolve upon him to be the special champion of opinions and measures that were hotly contested. He had enough combativeness and driving power to have made him a revolutionist, had not the grace of God

²³ Irby, *Some Recollections of Bishop McTyeire*, *Richmond Christian Advocate*, March 14, 1889.

²⁴ Judge E. H. East, a great Tennessee lawyer who drew the charter of Vanderbilt University.

made him a Christian man. He was half Irish, and that half at times seemed to be the whole man. The Scotch in him was not a noncombatant element in his constitution.²⁵

The inference should not be drawn that McTyeire was over-weening or a browbeater. No better analysis has been offered of his qualities than the Memorial by W. P. Harrison, who wrote in part:

His mind was broad-based like a pyramid, and no exigency of the moment could throw him from his balance. He did not use all his power; there was an "army of reserve," of whose existence an antagonist could have no reason to doubt if he persisted in an assault. But his strong resolute manner softened whenever the assailant grounded his arms. No man was apparently more imperious and exacting in the accomplishment of his purposes, and yet could be more magnanimous in victory, or candid and prompt to recognize an error. He knew how to conquer and, if need be, how to surrender. Positive in all elements of his character, he admired the same trait in others. He who firmly stood forth to demand his right was far more likely to obtain the end than one who faltered in his own defense. Not because he despised the weakness of the timid, but because his sense of justice governed him as the supreme law of life, therefore the Bishop was as ready to recognize an error of his own as he was firm and unmovable when profoundly convinced of the rectitude of his position.²⁶

Turning to the class-room, Holland recalls Drs. Garland, Duncan, Sims, and Doggett as part of the faculty. These men exercised influence that he remembered and cherished. In God's providence, Garland and Doggett were called to labor with him until death parted them.

Professor E. D. Sims, doubtless, helped Holland in his remarkable acquisition of the best Anglo-Saxon English. He had resigned before the Catalogue of 1842 appeared, to accept the chair of English at the University of Alabama. He offered a course of instruction in English based on Anglo-Saxon. He was described as an eminent person in every way, with his whole heart and mind devoted to his teaching. Textbooks in Anglo-Saxon were not available at that time, so Professor Sims wrote the exercises on the black-board. He thus pioneered in a course of study that was later stressed in most colleges and universities. At his death in

²⁵ Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

²⁶ Harrison, W. P., Book Editor, Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1889, pp. 164-167.

1845, he was preparing an Anglo-Saxon Grammar and Dictionary. The manuscripts are preserved in the Randolph-Macon Library.

Professor David Duncan, native of Ireland and graduate of the University of Glasgow, taught the chair of Ancient Languages, the most emphasized courses in the College. He possessed real scholarship, exceptional character, and urbane manners. His reservoir of wit and humor added to the popularity he enjoyed with both faculty and students. He was the father of two of Randolph-Macon's most distinguished sons, Reverend James A. Duncan, D.D., President of Randolph-Macon, 1868-77, and Bishop W. W. Duncan of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Holland set great store in the classics and evidently Professor Duncan was held in high esteem by him.

Landon C. Garland, President and Professor of Mathematics, turned out to be the most important educational contact of Holland's life. Garland's career, in length and versatility, is one of the most spectacular in American educational history. It began at age nineteen as Lecturer in Washington College, later Washington and Lee, and ended 64 years later as Chancellor of Vanderbilt University. He was of Methodist parentage with deep Church pride. Methodists were looked down upon and were said to be unable to get men of their own denomination to fill chairs in their new College at Boynton. Garland accepted a chair at a smaller salary than he was receiving at Washington College to refute this claim. Owing to financial difficulties this was not paid in full. He was even tempted to stop teaching and enter the ministry though his ambition had been to be a lawyer. This much of his interesting life will reveal the appeal he must have had for Holland. In the fourteen years at Randolph-Macon, Garland did his best work as a scholar and investigator. According to Irby, he was regarded with marked reverence, though under thirty years, because of the dignity of his character. "Few men ever possessed more than he. No man ever trifled in President Garland's lecture-room."²⁷

Holland must not have revealed great proficiency in Mathematics. Few students could match the teacher's high expectations

²⁷ Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon*, p. 73.

and this is possibly the basis for the statement that Garland regarded Holland as "a rather awkward, sensible and studious boy," who "did not give promise of the eminence to which he afterwards attained."²⁸ On this question, Irby makes this observation:

If McTyeire had had a mathematical mind—in other words, if he had been a mathematical genius—he doubtless would have contended for the highest honor to the last; but after a year or two, he saw that it was useless to contend for first place in that part of the course, and he deliberately laid aside his former aspirations and let his ambition take other directions. He graduated fourth in a class of twelve. But this did not argue inferiority.²⁹

Nor did it affect McTyeire's keen appreciation of Garland's noble character and transcendent abilities, when he came to select the first Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, thirty years later.

But David Seth Doggett was the man in the faculty who shaped Holland's life more than any other. Irby described Doggett as "an eloquent preacher, in the prime of life, a diligent student, and dignified in his deportment. The pulpit was his place of power."

Doggett was responsible for reawakening Holland's lagging religious life, affecting his decision about his life's work, and preparing him for it. Destiny brought them to the Episcopacy together early in the post-bellum period and fourteen years later Holland paid his last tribute and appreciation to this good man—his guide, philosopher, and friend—by a memorial discourse in the chapel of Vanderbilt University. Holland reverted to the fateful days at Randolph-Macon:

A rather lonesome time I had among the deserted dormitories, waiting for the vacation to end, and making additional preparation for my entrance examinations. I saw him not, but could hear of the chaplain [Doggett] holding protracted meetings, or attending camp-meetings in Mecklenburg and Brunswick and Buckingham counties.

When the session opened he was at his post, in the power of the Spirit. Soon it appeared he was laboring for a revival. I call to mind one of his memorable sermons—text: "It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth." . . . During that year a profound religious influence pervaded the

²⁸ Hoss, *The Arkansas Methodist*, February 20, 1889.

²⁹ Irby, *Some Recollections of Bishop McTyeire*, *Richmond Christian Advocate*, March 14, 1889.

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college, which, first and last, seemed to reach every student. . . . In the spring of 1844 Professor Doggett, learning that some of the students were looking to the ministry, gathered them into a class and devoted a spare hour each day to their instruction. There were four, and the text book selected for a beginning was Watson's *Conversations*. To the value of these gratuitous labors, one of the class gratefully testifies. . . . It was perhaps the first theological class ever organized in connection with a Methodist College.⁸⁰

Randolph-Macon being the oldest Methodist College, Holland's surmise about the age of the theological class becomes a certainty by the process of elimination.

Doggett not only saw to it that these first theologs got exegesis, homiletics, and the rest, but took advantage of several Methodist charges within a few miles' radius of Boydton to make practical pulpit experience available. Holland began preaching at these places, about which we shall tell later. During his last year, though pronounced no mathematical genius by Irby, Holland served the College as a member of its faculty, taking the position of Tutor in Mathematics and Ancient Languages, which Professor Warren DuPre resigned.

Summing up, at Randolph-Macon, Holland McTyeire received the fundamentals that became the sinews of success. The simple facts tell the story. W. R. Webb, of Bellbuckle, Tennessee, unsurpassed as a developer of boys, used to say, "A boy is a bundle of possibilities," which is a modern, home-spun version of Aristotle's conception of education. Holland came to Randolph-Macon, "rather awkward," a nominal Christian, with some rudiments of learning, and a yen for selfish aggrandizement. He left with a real grasp of the tools of learning and expression, a relighting of the spiritual fires ignited at Cokesbury and a clear call to Christian service. What he witnessed at Cokesbury and Randolph-Macon gave him a philosophy of education which was to find expression in the years ahead. He graduated in 1844—at the historical point of schism in his Church.

Randolph-Macon could hardly have failed to impress as an educational model, measured by the fruit it bore. It mothered education and religion throughout the South and beyond.

⁸⁰ H.N.M., *Doggett Memorial Discourse, PASSING THROUGH THE GATES*, pp. 144-146.

CHAPTER V

HOLLAND STARTS HIS LIFE WORK AS THE FAMILY SETTLES IN ALABAMA

WE have seen that Holland McTyeire began practice preaching at Randolph-Macon. Shortly before his graduation, January 7th, 1844, he was licensed to preach by the Reverend Henry B. Cowles, Presiding Elder, and the Reverend Jacob Manning, Preacher-in-Charge at the College.

Richard Irby described the conflict in the young man's mind that arose between strong secular ambitions and a call to the ministry. Two years later, Holland bared this struggle in a letter to his future mother-in-law:

I suffered several deaths in entering the ministry. I was proud and this humbled me. I was ambitious and this buried my hope. Covetousness never was my sin but I expected to make an easy independence soon enough in life to enjoy it; this expectation was cut off. Clergymen were always loved and honoured by me, but never envied. Till a few months before becoming one myself, the thought never crossed my *dreams* that I should ever belong to the fraternity. After greater agony—far greater than repentance ever was, my hard consent was gained. I declared my profession and was happy. Its aspect changed from that moment. Before it seemed the sum of all horrors—gloomy and woeful: now it seemed bright and pleasant and responsible, the highest of all callings—the greatest honour God could distinguish a mortal with. Presumption might always have taken the place of the former temptation-despair. I really esteemed my appointment as “ambassador for Christ” so highly, that I would not have “exchanged it for a crown.”¹

This statement, offered with the utmost sincerity and directness, reveals the mind and spirit with which Holland began his church career. All qualms had been settled, all doubts dissipated; he entered upon his work with confidence in the correctness of his decision, and undertook, earnestly, to “press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.” He never afterward wavered or had a regret over his decision:

“More and more I thank the Lord,” he wrote a friend, “for

¹ H.N.M., to Jane Townsend, March 29, 1847.

casting my lot with Methodist preachers, and making their work my work. Only one wish remains, and it is best expressed by the Wesleyan hymn:

Ready for all thy perfect will
My acts of faith and love repeat,
Till death thy endless mercies seal
And make the sacrifice complete."²

Most of the sermons which Holland McTyeire preached, during almost a half century of his ministry, are still preserved, either in print or in complete or skeleton form in his own handwriting. The manuscripts bear the dates and places of delivery and the preacher's comment upon the possible success or failure of his efforts. These notations are made with complete frankness; apparently, the sole purpose was self-improvement. No eye other than his, in all probability, ever rested upon them while he lived. The practice was adopted from the very beginning. His criticism of himself was utterly forthright. His first sermon was preached at St. James Chapel, Virginia, in March, 1844, but his comment was written sometime after the sermon was delivered: "My first sermon was at St. James Chapel on *The Law of God is in his heart—none of his steps shall slide*, (Ps. xxxvii, 31) O, how a little theological training beforehand, would have helped me—I struck out into the dark—and beat about. My first texts were my hardest."

His second sermon was at Zion in March, 1844, on the text *Coming of the Kingdom* (Luke xvii, 20-21) and carries this notation:

My mortification was great. As I started off to old Mr. Holmes (to stay over night) a malicious college boy (——) shouts aloud, in the street of the village—after me—"What Mac—you going to preach?" I shall never forget it. He was a member of the Church, too—but mean spirited. The horse was under me or I should have sunk down, before the low rabble.

A smart young lady was in the congregation—Miss Cary I—. I looked all the time into the Amen corner—upon a few old souls. She afterwards said laughingly—"You forgot there were bright eyes elsewhere looking to see." I was not much, if any concerned for producing effect—only anxious about "getting through." That quite absorbed me. I was a member of the senior class then.

² Keener, *op. cit.*,

His third sermon entitled *Confessing Before Men* (Luke x, 32-33) was delivered at the same place he made his first pulpit appearance. He comments on this: "Preached, where the first had been, at St. James—an appointment three miles from Randolph-Macon College: April 14, 1844—Had my first liberty. Subsequently, (next month) preached it at night at Clarksville, Va.—with much liberty—was enlarged."

On June 8, 1844, the General Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a Plan of Separation which authorized the organization of two branches—the Northern and the Southern. The immediate cause of the schism was the possession of slaves, acquired by inheritance and marriage of Bishop J. O. Andrew. He had been a South Carolina circuit rider and neighbor of the McTyeires. The first Virginia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, convened at Norfolk, November 12, 1845, with Bishop Andrew presiding. Holland McTyeire who was just attaining his majority, was admitted on trial and assigned to a station at Williamsburg, the old colonial capital.³

In later years, Holland told about his removal to Williamsburg. When he was a circuit rider, he had used a horse and sulky to get around. He would not require that at Williamsburg. A classmate, Archibald Clarke, had been appointed to a circuit at Brunswick. On the morning after Conference, this colloquy occurred. Clarke: "You have a station, and don't need a horse. I have a circuit and no horse." Pulling out his watch—"I gave Wilson, the jeweler, of Clarksville, \$120 for that. Can't we trade?" McTyeire replied: "In June I gave Walker, the Boydton merchant, \$65 for that sulky, and I throw in the valise that straps on behind. I gave Holmes, the shoemaker, \$60 for the horse. He's slightly string-halt of a cool morning but after you warm him up he's all right. What do you say?" "I'll swap even." "Agreed."

Clarke rode away and McTyeire took a steamer at Richmond and landed at Jamestown:

A wagon loaded with "rectified" whiskey went just ahead along the heavy sand road to Williamsburg, and I much wondered whether the new "rec-

³ Virginia Annual Conference Minutes, 1845, p. 19.

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tor" or the "rectified" whiskey would prevail in the ancient borough to which we were going. Forty years later I showed my friend the watch (still a good time-piece), and inquired after the welfare of that team. "Ah," said he, with an arch look, "I believe you got the best of that trade." Whatever may be said of it, we kept that item of the General Rules which forbids "using many words in buying and selling."⁴

The appointment of Holland by Bishop Andrew to Williamsburg did not involve much increase in pastoral responsibility beyond the fact that he had now been placed on trial in an official connection. The Church to which he came had only seventy-eight members on its rolls.⁵ Nonetheless, his assignment to such a location as Williamsburg was of great significance. His previous life had been restricted to plantation experience and provincial towns. He had derived extraordinary rewards from this background—values that he retained until the end of his days—but Williamsburg with its historic traditions and the old College of William and Mary brought vastly enlarged opportunities of growth to the impressionable young man, even in the brief period he remained there. Here he trod the very ground where Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Tyler, Marshall, Randolph, and other great figures had trod. Randolph-Macon had served him well—but it was a college in its infancy struggling for survival. William and Mary yielded seniority only to Harvard among American colleges. George Washington had served as Chancellor from 1788 until his death. Jefferson, whose ideas about religion and slavery differed widely from Holland's, had been a student there and, later, profoundly modified its policy. Now, Holland could stand on the very ground where Patrick Henry walked—who at Richmond had cried "Give me liberty or give me death!"

It doesn't require a great stretch of the imagination to visualize the effect of all this upon a highly sensitive country youth. The impact would have dented the most callous and hide-bound old man.

One, who was later called upon to play a major role in determining educational policy for a great church and, in this, destined

⁴ H.N.M., *Richmond Christian Advocate*, February 13, 1888.

⁵ Virginia Annual Conference Minutes, 1845, p. 69.

to found a university, could hardly fail to sense the influence which William and Mary exerted upon him. William and Mary owed its establishment to the Reverend James Blair, who in the face of bitter opposition was empowered by the Virginia General Assembly to go to England, in 1691, and petition their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, to charter a college in Virginia. The charter set out the purposes as follows: "providing a trained ministry, pious education, good letters and manners for the youth, and propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians." Among other supports for the college, a duty on exports of tobacco was proposed. "The Attorney General, Seymour, opposed this project on the ground that the money was needed for 'better purposes' than educating clergymen. Rev. Dr. Blair, agent and advocate of the endowment, pleading: 'The people have souls to be saved.' Seymour retorted: 'Damn your souls, make tobacco.' " ⁶

The charter of William and Mary was signed February 8, 1693, and James Blair became the first president, which position he held for the next fifty years. The College became the center of educational movements that affected the nation as well as the State of Virginia, and conspicuous among these was the establishment of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in revolutionary days, which today is the hallmark of the best liberal education in American colleges. It may be purely fortuitous, but there is an amazing parallel between the establishment of William and Mary College and Vanderbilt University. Aims of the former could have easily inspired, in part at least, the pattern of the latter.

Not the least influence exerted upon Holland at Williamsburg was that of Thomas R. Dew, President of the College, the ablest of the pro-slavery social philosophers.

He found time, in the midst of his other duties, to attend the historical lectures of Dr. Dew, the President of William and Mary College. These lectures were afterward published under the title of *Dew's Digest of History*, and the Bishop always put a high estimate upon their value.⁷

⁶ Andrews, E. Benjamin, *History of the United States* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894), I, p. 115.

⁷ Hoss, E. E., *The Arkansas Methodist*, February 20, 1889. (Hoss was for some years a member of the faculty of Vanderbilt University and resided near the Bishop on the campus.)

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Jefferson had asserted equality as a fundamental right of creation in the Declaration of Independence. He became the implacable foe of human slavery and "every form of tyranny over the mind of man." He emancipated his slaves and contended for the emancipation and deportation of all slaves. "He trembled for his country as he reflected upon the wrong of slavery and the justice of God. Patrick Henry, George Mason, Peyton Randolph, Washington, Madison, in a word, all of the great Virginians of the time held similar views." ⁸

With slavery regarded as essential to the economic advancement of the South in the minds of planters and the creation of a gentry which was a corollary of that idea, some rational apology for these conditions was inescapable. President Dew, of William and Mary, was the philosophical spearhead of this subtle movement.

The discrediting of Jefferson did not begin to take effect in the lower South till such great Virginians as John Randolph and Chief Justice Marshall had successfully ridiculed his teachings as glittering fallacies. Four years after Jefferson's death, the Virginia constitutional convention openly disavowed the equalitarian teachings which had underlain the politics of the South since 1800; and two years later, when the Nat Turner Insurrection was under discussion in the Virginia Legislature, a young teacher at William and Mary appeared before the committee on abolition and presented a new system of social science. This man was Thomas R. Dew, a trained political scientist, recently returned from the German universities where he had been taught that the inequality of men was fundamental to all social organization. He argued so forcibly against emancipation of the slaves that men began to say aloud what they had long believed—that Southern society was already sharply stratified and that men might as well avow it. (Reproduced from "The Cotton Kingdom" by William E. Dodd, Volume 27, 1921, pp. 48-49, THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA. Copyright Yale University Press.)

Dew did not make a frontal assault on the ideals that Americans cherished but indirectly promoted a philosophy of inequality by appeals to history and economics. He pointed to the fact that the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments, sanctioned slavery—in fact, it was characteristic of ancient cultures and approved by even such authorities as Plato and Aristotle at the zenith of Greek civilization.

Much of Holland's ministry was devoted to Negroes, both as a

⁸ Andrews, *op. cit.*, I, p. 343.

preacher and as an organizer. He saw the evils of slavery, but he was not an abolitionist. Least of all could he see the point of view of those who considered slaves as animals and, therefore, without souls.

The Methodist Church suffered abundantly in the esteem of Southern aristocracy for its efforts to evangelize the Negroes but that did not prevent it from Christianizing more blacks than any other agency. By the channels of theology, church organization, preaching, and in other ways, Holland McTyeire probably played a larger role in this accomplishment than any other man. This statement does not overlook the magnificent service that William Capers performed in organizing the missions that carried the gospel to the slaves on the plantations. But it recognizes McTyeire's doctrine of racial equality in the benefits of salvation, the part he played in the organization of a great Negro church, the ordination of its bishops, and a personal ministry that was offered to Negroes as much as to whites. He records that he preached three hundred sermons to Negroes. And there were many more preached to mixed congregations. For a period of years in his ministry, he served large Negro congregations exclusively.

An amazing fact about McTyeire's ministerial service, in general, was its effectiveness at the outset. He did not seem to have to await development. His spectacular rise to prominence with the origin and growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have been thus described by a great historian:

The Southern Methodists chose to defend and maintain slavery and to make Andrew's case their own; the Northern Methodists took the view of Orange Scott and William Lloyd Garrison. Both parties were friendly but in deadly earnest. They separated. They could not do otherwise, for the people of the cotton States would have banned forever any preacher who attacked slavery, and the Methodists of New England, at any rate, would have refused to countenance a clergyman who endorsed slavery. The Methodist Church South was therefore organized in 1846, with Joshua Soule of Ohio as its leading bishop.

From the date of the separation to the outbreak of the Civil War the Methodist Church increased as it never increased before. The membership doubled in fifteen years. Preachers like McTyeire and Capers became as well known to the lower South as leading governors and congressmen. McTyeire

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published a little handbook* which taught what the true relations of masters and slaves should be. Dr. William A. Smith of Virginia, who was very influential in the cotton States, argued in a book which was widely discussed that slavery was divinely established and that it was the duty of all good men to defend it.⁹ (Reproduced from "The Cotton Kingdom" by William E. Dodd, Volume 27, pp. 105-106, THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA. Copyright Yale University Press.)

Holland's life at Williamsburg, though intensely stimulating, was short. He was there only six months. The first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, mentioned by Dodd, convened at Petersburg, Virginia, May 1, 1846. Holland said at another Conference at Richmond forty years later:

I had received my first appointment, and was at the good old town of Williamsburg. I left my charge for a while, and went up to Petersburg to see and to hear, and to look at the good and great men through whom God had given us Methodism. I remember well from my place in the gallery of the little church, how I saw what to me was the most impressive sight I ever looked upon. It was worth a long journey to see. From my place in the gallery where I daily sat, I could see such Virginia delegates as Early, Smith, Lee, Paine, and Crawford.¹⁰

Bishop Andrew, who had sent Holland to Williamsburg, was apparently pleased with his services, for he now assigned him to an aristocratic congregation at St. Francis Street Church, Mobile, Alabama. The appointment is surprising as Holland was just a neophyte on trial and the charge was an important one. The outgoing pastor, Dr. T. O. Summers, with whom Holland was to have future relations, had been elected Associate Editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate*. Undoubtedly, Bishop Andrew was aware of the rapid maturity of Holland as he had known him from childhood.

The move from Williamsburg to Mobile enabled Holland to make a short visit with his family after an absence of six years. There is no record of his going home after his father took him to Collinsworth. After Dr. Thomas drove him to Boynton, it will be recalled that he spent the summer there and was unable to

* H. N. McTyeire: *Duties of Masters and Servants* (Premium Essays of the Southern Baptist Publication Society, Charleston, 1851).

⁹ Dr. William A. Smith was President of Randolph-Macon College 1846-1866.

¹⁰ *Southern Christian Advocate*, February 23, 1889.

return home. He may have gotten home for one or two visits but the letters, now available, seem to suggest the contrary. The difficulties of travel and the drastic character of the financial depression are now not easily recoverable in imagination.

There was every consideration, except death, which invited his coming home to his people, who were adjusting themselves in a new community, struggling with financial difficulties, with cotton as low as five cents a pound, sometimes no sale after carrying their crop to distant markets, and money that John McTyeire called "paper rags."

Construction of a homestead, birth, marriage, broken health, were some of the challenging conditions that confronted the McTyeires and that are described in detail in letters to the absent son by his mother. Reports are made to him about his own cattle and accounts of happenings among the slaves, who on a plantation of people like the McTyeires, were only slightly outside the family circle. The servants shared the blessings of the religious altar and medical care with the family.

Captain John McTyeire did not make his first settlement in Russell County, Alabama, with a view of permanency. He was only prospecting for an advantageous location. Within a year's time he found some land which he liked, and purchased a large tract. The home was built upon a high eminence about three miles northwest of the Uchee post office. For several years, the family and servants were housed in primitive log cabins. Letters to Holland revealed delays and difficulties encountered before the mansion house was completed. Mrs. McTyeire, on the date line of one letter to her son, evidently with a touch of humor, refers to the log home as "Scotch Palace." Labor, except that of their own slaves, was impossible to secure. These had to be withdrawn from farming when the low price of cotton made reduction in acreage difficult. Holland's mother wrote, late in 1842, concerning his father's plans:

John says his present impression is to plant cotton enough only to meet emergencies next year and stop four hands to get lumber and saw it with the whip saw to build him a new house. He says they can do it and he cannot buy lumber at 1 dollar a hundred. He says it is the best time he thinks to

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build with all he will be compelled to buy, sash and lime, the oakum, glass, putty, nails and other things.

The building was postponed two or three more years and had not been long occupied when Holland arrived home. When completed, it gave to John and Elizabeth McTyeire and their children their first comfortable and spacious abode. The view from the mansion was far-famed and deserved to be.

I have stood on the porch of this residence and with a glass which always hung in the hall for use when wanted, and seen distinctly, horsemen riding nearly three miles away. . . . The view from this house, towards the north and west was unusually attractive and proverbially beautiful.¹¹

The McTyeires lived quietly. They did not belong to the rich planter class, neither was their life in accord with the traditions of luxury which go with that class. They had overseers, but the family worked, perhaps too much for their best welfare; no trips were made to the city for social functions. Like other pious Methodists of that day, they eschewed gambling, dancing, and even cards and theatres. Some of their clothes and furnishings were made on the place.

Perhaps the gayest event that took place at the McTyeires'—while Holland was still attending college at Randolph-Macon and before they had moved into their new home—was the marriage of their daughter, Caroline. The mother's description of the wedding preparations and the event itself throws about as much light upon life at Uchee, certainly on the social side, as is now recoverable at this distant date. On February 13, 1844, Elizabeth Nimmons McTyeire wrote her son:

Well, Holland, I have a great deal to say in a small space and to commence I must tell you that your sister Caroline was united in marriage last Wednesday evening to Mr. Malachi Ivey. We had very pleasant weather and an unusual agreeable party. Parson James officiated, a Baptist clergyman, lives in Auburn, a village some twenty miles above here and preached at Good Hope this year. They had eight attendants. Dr. Walton, Mr. White, Davis Long, and Henry, Elizabeth Cross, Hetty Cross, Julie Huey, Francis Owens. The Misses Cross live near Glenville. Caroline went to school with Hetty. Mrs. Long came over and assisted me for several days and many of

¹¹ Cherry, *op. cit.* The author visited the site in December, 1939. The house had been destroyed by fire a few years before.

my friends were extremely kind in helping me. Many was the wish that was expressed for Holland to have been here if circumstances would allow. Caroline was dressed in a Swiss muslin skirt with three satin folds around the skirt and a figured satin waist with blue lace trimming, a gold watch, white sash, white gloves, black slippers, white wreath in her head, white silk stockings. Mr. Ivey was dressed in black cloth frock and coat, satin vest, and so on. Henry went up to Columbus the week before and got himself a new suit for the occasion and then started in a day or so and went back to Columbus and brought Miss Emily Brown down to the wedding. She was spending some time in Columbus with some of her relatives. Mr. Ivey gave a dining party the next day. All the friends went up but the Misses Cross. They went home. My table was set in an X and many were the praises of it. I had cakes of all sizes, oranges, apples, raisins, almonds, wines, celabub, and many other things too tedious to mention. I believe it is generally admitted that it was a thing of general satisfaction on both sides. . . . I do hope, Holland, she will do well. Malachi is so affectionately kind. I love him almost as a child.

The marriage was indeed a grand and happy event for all who were there, but especially for the bride and bridegroom. The mother's most cherished hopes for her daughter's happiness were fulfilled. Caroline and Malachi lived happily. He prospered. They had adequate servants and Malachi bought a \$1,100 buggy which was shipped down from the North. Their home at Glennville was in easy driving distance from Uchee making possible a frequent exchange of visits between mother and daughter. Glennville was the oldest permanent white settlement in Russell County. It was founded in 1835 by Rev. James E. Glenn.¹² He was the school trustee that Stephen Olin found hewing logs at Tabernacle, Abbeville District, S. C., as Olin sought employment as a teacher, an incident to which we have alluded. Glennville became a pioneer seat of Methodist activity, to which emigrants came in numbers from the Carolinas and Georgia, and developed into an educational center of Alabama.

Only one sombre note was reflected in the account of the wedding. It disturbed Elizabeth McTyeire a little. Today it stirs deep pathos as one contemplates it in the light of subsequent events, and sounds a distant, discordant note in an otherwise happy occasion. Elizabeth concluded her letter to her son thus:

He, (Malachi) has seven negroes of his own and your Father let Caroline

¹² Walker, Anne Kendrick, *Russell County in Retrospect* (The Dietz Press, Richmond, 1950), p. 311.

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have John and Sarah's Minty this year as the crop arrangement is all made before. It was thought best not to give Leah and her child this year. Old Aunt Molly cried a great deal about Minty but I persuaded her that Caroline would do a kind part by her.

His mother had many cares to carry in Holland's absence. Her own health was not good and she worried about her husband's physical condition. Her son's spiritual welfare was always a matter of primary concern. The month following Caroline's wedding, she wrote him:

My dear Holland it would make you sorry, I know, to see your Father, what a change is in his looks since you saw him; his head is almost white and he is thin and lean, none of his pantaloons that fit when you saw him last, will do now without altering. Although he does not complain a great deal, yet he is going down very perceptible. I cannot help noticing how lean he has grown, and I know and feel that I am much in the same way. Oh, Holland, my Dear, you should beg the Lord to spare us one and all to meet on earth again. I often think of you in the hours of darkness with tenderness and love, and try to ask the Father of all mercies to take care of you and protect you though far away from me. He is an omnipotent God and can bring us all to praise his name on earth together. My Dear Holland I have been thinking much this day about eternity and have promised the Lord by his help to try and live more on my guard. Can't you help me by your prayers. O my child there is one here that often thinks and tries to pray for you. I beg of you not to look back but press forward the reward is ahead.

Henry McTyeire finished his schooling and settled down before Holland's return. He located on a plantation at Clayton, in Barbour County, about thirty miles south of Uchee. Mrs. McTyeire wrote Holland about Henry's attentions to ladies and mentioned especially Miss Emily Brown, whom he had brought to Caroline's wedding, and others, but he never married. He was quite prosperous and gave promise of becoming wealthy if his life had not been cut off in youth. His nearness was always a comfort to his mother. Visits were not difficult and were frequent.

Holland was kept informed mostly by his mother. The father's letters were confined largely to business, and Henry wrote very infrequently. The mother apologized for them "because they worked so hard." It may have been that Henry was somewhat reticent out of respect for Holland's superior educational advantages, but there is nothing to indicate this in their correspond-

ence. Whatever deficiency may have attached to their father or brother as correspondents, the mother kept her son meticulously acquainted with all things of interest that happened, and was constantly on the alert to keep herself informed about Holland's status both mentally and spiritually. Quotations at random will illustrate:

My Dear Holland, You never say a word of late about your spiritual progress. What is the reason? Do say something on the subject in your next. How we would have liked to have seen your last letter filled up with that or something that pertained about yourself and studies;

Jane and Calhoun are still going to school. Jane learns very well. She got into the Geography class the other day which pleased her very much. She seems determined to stand high here as she can. Calhoun learns a little. William and Emma often talk of Buddy Holly, and when he will come home. . . . William has strange ideas. He asked me the other day if Buddy Holly was black. Emma is full of talk and is her father's favorite. . . . Mr. and Mrs. Carmichael and all their children were here on Sunday. Mr. Carmichael is making out as usual, I believe.

Jane and Calhoun were the older children, born as was Caroline, in South Carolina. William (Capers) and Emma (Emily Lucretia) were infants born in Alabama in Holland's absence. The Carmichaels were near neighbors. It is interesting to note that one of the Carmichaels became the third Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, and a daughter of William became the mother of the famed General Holland McTyeire Smith, who was born at Hatchechubbee in Russell County, about ten miles from Uchee, on April 20, 1882. General Smith was called the father of amphibious warfare in World War II, and, as Commanding General of the Fleet Marine Force in the Pacific, commanded the Marines and attached troops of the Army in the capture of Tarawa, Roi-Namur, Saipan, Iwo Jima, and other operations. He was named for Holland McTyeire whose initials were the basis of the famous epithet "Howling Mad" which the fighting leathernecks were so fond of applying to their really dignified commander in his characteristic moments of explosion. The General writes:

My father and mother hoped that by naming me after this ancestor I would follow in his footsteps. It was a great disappointment to them when their son showed no inclination to enter the Methodist ministry. Both my father, John Wesley Smith, Jr., and my mother, who was born Cornelia Caro-

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lina McTyeire, were very religious and my early years were strictly disciplined along Methodist lines, but my career must have been preordained by the character of other forebears.¹³

The solicitude of the mother for the welfare of the slaves was second only to that which she manifested for her own children. In March, 1846, Elizabeth McTyeire wrote her son:

The health of the family is better than it has been since I wrote you. We have had more sickness among the Negroes this winter than ever I have known, a common thing for four or five grown hands to be very sick at a time and remain so for several days. Chance was confined to his house a fortnight but lost the use of one of his legs and foot up to the hips, but has grown better. Clinton has been hardly able to move with Rheumatism for the last month, but I think he is much better. . . . Bess came very near breaking her leg some three weeks ago and liked to have lost her life but through mercy is better. She came up to see me today supported by a stick. . . . You therefore perceive that I have had my hands full to nurse so much, but thank God we are all still alive. Your father's health has improved since I wrote to you but I think he takes more exercise than he is able to bear. . . . Henry is well as far as I know. I saw him a day or so ago. He is still likely to keep home by himself.

We have no available information about Holland's arrival home from Virginia, but the family reunion is not difficult to imagine. It was a joyous occasion for the McTyeires and also one of thanksgiving and prayer, no doubt.

The McTyeires had assisted in the building of a Methodist chapel at Uchee. Holland preached there, very much to the amazement of the community. His subject on this occasion was quite appropriate, *The Love of Our Neighbor* (Luke x, 27). He had preached this sermon twice before at Williamsburg, April 28, 1846, and later at Coal Pits, Virginia. This is his comment upon it:

The first sermon I ever preached before my parents or neighbors and school fellows at Uchee, Alabama, was on my way from Williamsburg to Mobile—sometime in June 1846—It was a trying time, but the Lord upheld me. I was blessed in the deed—I have used this Jawbone, in one or another place a good deal.

There was probably no understanding with the minister that

¹³ Smith, General Holland M., *Coral and Brass* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1949), p. 24.

Holland would preach before his arrival at the chapel. Throughout his career, he often appeared, unannounced, and then preached at the pastor's invitation.

According to Amelia Baskervill Martin, a granddaughter of Holland McTyeire, William Capers McTyeire is authority for the following family anecdote concerning this important event: "They saw him talking to the pastor of the Methodist Church—out in the Church yard and were all surprised when he walked up in the pulpit. . . . His father was so amazed he said 'Tut, tut, tut, what does this mean?' " Mrs. Martin then continues, "There was a very large fat man in the community who was very fond of Grandpa [Holland McTyeire] and in hot weather he always sat in a chair by the open door. In the midst of the sermon he said, 'Holland, it's too hot in here for me, but go right ahead. I'm with you.' Whereupon, he left the Church."¹⁴

¹⁴ Letter to the author, August 26, 1951.

CHAPTER VI

HOLLAND JOINS THE ALABAMA CONFERENCE AND FINDS HIS WIFE

HOLLAND records that the sermon at Uchee Chapel was preached in June. He was at home for only a brief visit as he preached his first sermon at Mobile in the same month. If Holland's "translation" from Williamsburg to Mobile (to employ a term he borrowed from his predecessor at St. Francis Street Church) brought promotion and propinquity to his family, it also had its forbidding aspects. Years afterward, he recalled the experience:

I was picked up by Bishop Andrew, not to *fill* his (Summers') place, but to be put into it. My first year in the itinerancy was half out, and quitting Williamsburg, I started for Mobile. The Virginia friends did not weep and fall on my neck and kiss me, like Paul's did when he was on his way through Miletus and Tyre and Caesarea (see Acts xx and xxi) to unwholesome Jerusalem; but they made as many forbidding prophecies. "What! going from this latitude to Mobile at this time of the year? You'll die of yellow fever, sure." On the way I spent a few days at home, and my mother took leave of me as never expecting to see me again. Floating down the river, on the steamer *Bradstreet*, I fell in with passengers who gave doleful accounts of epidemics, and bade me look out for yellow fever if I spent the summer in Mobile.¹

When Holland arrived in Mobile, he found the Quarterly Conference, as a measure of economy, purchasing a site in the new city cemetery for the burial of preachers who might die of yellow fever. Although Holland escaped, by 1854 three preachers had claimed their six feet of earth in this plot. The worst epidemic came in 1853, when morbidity reached many thousands and mortality rose to one in three cases.

St. Francis Street Church had been organized only five years. Holland was about to attain his twenty-third birthday. He found a congregation of 163 whites and 180 Negroes. In the ante-bellum

¹ H.N.M., *Alabama Advocate*, March 15, 1888.

days, it was usual for slaves to worship with their masters. Churches were provided with a gallery for the blacks where they sat with an overseer. In the larger cities, New Orleans, for example, some Churches exclusively for Negroes were found. Mobile in 1846 was the largest city in Alabama but its population was only in the neighborhood of 15,000. The Federal Census of 1840 reported the population at 12,672.² The major portion of these were Negroes and foreigners but the white element was highly selective and many of them aristocratic and/or distinguished. There was a coterie of writers, some of them nationally renowned. Among the best known and most talented of these was the well-known Admiral Raphael Semmes, Commander of the privateer *Alabama* in the War Between the States, who amidst the strenuous occupations of a naval officer and lawyer, found time to write history and biography. In Holland's congregation was a young writer, Augusta Evans, destined to become the most widely read of all Mobile authors, though it was not until 1859 that the Victorian novel *Beulah* brought her national fame. She was the soprano soloist in the church choir. She became a life-long friend and admirer of Holland McTyeire. Her home is preserved today as nearly as possible as she left it. It stands in amazing charm beneath a canopy of ancient magnolias and live-oaks. Among Holland's flock were other unusual personages, including some members of the Everitt, Townsend, and Crawford families with whom he was to be linked by close family and friendship ties throughout his life.

John F. Everitt, a native of Georgia, was commissioned Captain by President Monroe and fought in 1815 in the Creek Indian war. He was Mayor of Mobile in 1827-30 and again in 1835-36, frequently served in the legislature, was Judge of the County Court and serving as Probate Judge at his death in 1858. Born in 1784, he was married three times. After his first marriage to Sarah Ann Lester Mitchell, in Georgia, he moved into what was then the territory of Alabama. They had two daughters, Hannah and Jane Independence (born on July 4th); his second wife was Sarah

² Sixteenth Census, I, p. 70.

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Hand who bore him five children. A son, Enoch, born in 1818, married Florida, daughter of Governor Duval of Florida, and a daughter, Martha Eliza, born in 1820, married Robert L. Crawford, in 1835. The latter were the parents of Frank Armstrong Crawford, who became the second wife of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt. Crawford was born in Virginia in 1799 but emigrated as a young man to Alabama. He acquired a large estate and settled in Toulminville, near Mobile. In 1830, Andrew Jackson appointed him United States Marshall for the Southern District of Alabama. He died in the great yellow fever epidemic of 1853.³

John W. Townsend, whose family was of English origin and lived for several generations on Oyster Bay, New York, came to Mobile and started a newspaper in 1821, called the *Commercial Register*. He absorbed the oldest Mobile paper, the *Gazette*, founded in 1812, and a half dozen other papers, to make the *Mobile Register*, "the most venerable name in the history of journalism in Mobile."⁴ Townsend was the editor of the *Register* for many years. He served as postmaster at Mobile under Presidents Van Buren and Polk. He married Jane Independence, daughter of Judge John Everitt. They had two daughters, Amelia and Emma. Amelia was to become the wife of Holland McTyeire and his principal human reliance until the end of his career. The older persons mentioned were all members of St. Francis Street Church. Frank Crawford, the future Mrs. Vanderbilt, was only seven years old when Holland came to Mobile. She joined St. Francis Street Church in 1849. Amelia Townsend was born in Mobile November 12, 1827, and was, therefore, nineteen years of age when Holland came. She was not then a member of the church but her mother was exceedingly devoted and active in all of its work, possibly the most devout member of the communion. In later years, Holland wrote of her:

She considered a good religious meeting to be the perfection of all human assemblies; and a good sermon as the highest reach of human speech; and an

³ Data on Everitt and Crawford families taken from *Laurus Crawfordiana*, privately published in New York, 1883.

⁴ Summersell, Charles Grayson, *Mobile: History of a Seaport Town* (University of Alabama Press, 1949), p. 27.

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earnest, pure-minded Christian as the finest excellence of human nature. She was gifted in prayer; and this gift she sometimes exercised not only in the class and prayer meeting, but also in larger congregations.⁵

His assignment to St. Francis Street Church was definitely a challenge to Holland McTyeire. The important segment of his congregation was sophisticated and he was young and untried in a community of the size and type of Mobile. He was succeeding Dr. T. O. Summers, a well-matured and proven preacher as well as a great theologian, important in that era. Summers subsequently became a brilliant teacher of systematic theology at Vanderbilt University. On his first appearance, Holland preached at night after Dr. Summers had occupied the pulpit in the morning. What a contrast it must have been. Holland was always deliberate and never adopted the devices of popularity. His strength was in solidity rather than scintillation. Years afterward Martha Crawford wrote:

I look back on his first sermon in Mobile St. Francis Street Church—when Dr. Summers was taken to edit the Charleston Advocate, how anxious I felt for young McTyeire to stand in Dr. Summers place who was so much older and so learned—but after he was *through*, I felt no more fear or anxiety, so deliberate and knew just what he was about, and I used to take him from church with me to Toulminville and let him preach for our little church out there.⁶

Holland did not enjoy the same satisfaction over his pulpit service as did Mrs. Crawford, for after a sermon on the theme, *The Proud Heart, An Abomination*, (Prov. xvi:5), he wrote this comment:

Preached in St. Francis St. Church, Mobile, Nov. 7, 1846. I had cause to thank God and take courage. My heart was up to this, much cast down. The sermon and my poor preaching had thinned out the congregation. But now they began to return—the people. Many new faces were present. The house was well filled, for the first time. And I had some *force* in delivery. Judge J. E. Jones was a hearer. He much supported me. . . . The sophomoric affectation for big words and redundant adjectives stuck to me, dreadfully long.

During those days of concern for improvement of his Bible study and homiletics, Holland procured "a copy of the Bible of

⁵ *New Orleans Christian Advocate*, July 27, 1876.

⁶ Martha Crawford to Amelia McTyeire, 1889.

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size and type to suit me: had Strickland [bookseller] to divide it into two volumes, interleaved and bound, and so I began a more critical study of the Scriptures."

Holland remained in Mobile about seven months. The Alabama Annual Conference convened at Tuscaloosa on January 22, 1847, and he was moved to Demopolis, a town about two hundred and thirty miles above Mobile on the Tombigbee river.⁷ He remained on trial in the Conference, along with twenty-one others. Eugene V. Levert was his presiding elder and the Church had seventy-three whites and one hundred and nineteen Negro members.⁸

While in Mobile, Holland had fallen in love with Amelia Townsend. She was regarded as one of the most beautiful and attractive girls in Mobile. Consider for a moment the position in which Holland was placed. According to Victorian etiquette of the day and in his own judgment and sensibilities, because of his position and relationship as a pastor, he could not adopt the course of an ordinary suitor, even if he observed every propriety. For the most part, he saw the lady of his love usually with her mother at church when engaged in spiritual devotions. If he called, it could be only in a pastoral capacity. He could address no attentions, no words, written or spoken, toward "Miss Amelia" that would not be appropriate for all other girls of his acquaintance. Bearing all this in mind, let us read with sympathetic tenderness this amazing letter which Holland wrote Amelia shortly after his arrival in Demopolis:

Monday evening Feb. 15th, 1847

Miss Amelia:

You will doubtless be surprised at receiving any communication from me—on this subject especially. I must apologize for its abruptness.

Such has been my situation since my acquaintance with you as to preclude the long course of attentions that are not only customary but quite becoming. You do not need that I explain further about this "situation." I shall be obliged to approach you without them.

I learn that you are not at this time engaged to be married. I am not, but with your consent this shall not longer be the case with either of us. I presume if your *feelings* are favorable to this proposition you do not lack

⁷ Alabama Annual Conference Minutes, 1847, p. 91.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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for that *knowledge* of me and my circumstances which you might deem necessary to making a reply.

It is unnecessary, Miss Amelia, that I make any protestations of esteem and love for you. These you will not fail to regard as expressly and fully implied by the subject matter of my letter. Yourself alone could excite the feelings I bear to you and have done it, though I confess the very pleasant family of which you are a member not a little enhances my desire to be connected with you and with them.

This is no freak of mind, nor sudden ebullition of momentary feeling, it is the settled purpose of months. I do not, I *cannot* feel *indifferent* to the answer you may return, though you have done or said nothing and I have learned nothing nor attempted to learn anything that enables me to anticipate that answer. My suspense will be great and painful—will you therefore relieve me, Miss Amelia, by an early reply. Put it into the hands of our mutual friend, Mrs. Ann Heard, who will forward it to me immediately at my father's house in the eastern part of the state.

I have been so much pressed in business and company since my return to the city that I have been deprived of the leisure that ought to be enjoyed in making such a communication, which is really the *most important I ever made*.

I am yrs. very sincerely
H. N. McTyeire

No one, except Amelia's mother, had been apprised about this proposal. It is unlikely that anybody else even dreamed that Holland had such intentions. Furthermore, no one would have thought that Amelia would accept such a proposal if tendered.

Amelia, as we have noted, belonged to one of the most prominent families in Mobile and was a belle in the society of southern Alabama. She was what Methodists of that day called "worldly." Holland was young, on trial in the Conference, and, in his own mind, not a great success in his calling though irrevocably dedicated to it. And yet, in some manner that will only be revealed in the resurrection, Amelia accepted the young minister in spite of the chasm that existed in their status and without the wooing which usually precedes an agreement of this sort. Martha Crawford, Jane Townsend's half-sister, and Amelia's aunt, summarized the elements in the situation after Holland passed to his reward, in these words:

I often speak of it—what a fine looking girl Amelia was—about the best looking of the Mobile girls and yet this unpretending young preacher captured her—but O! there was always a grandeur in the man young as he was.⁹

⁹ Letter of Martha Crawford to an unidentified person.

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Even with Amelia's acceptance, the victory was not won. Mrs. Townsend reacted unfavorably and Holland had to overcome her opposition. There developed an extraordinary correspondence between them—candid and soul-searching. Mrs. Townsend's first letter of protest was handed Holland one morning after he had entered the pulpit. In acknowledging it, Holland wrote:

What must I do? The congregation was crowded and crowding. I opened it softly—took *just a peep right then* and dropped it into my hat. *Couldn't forbear*. . . I didn't read more than a line or two. To have gone on otherwise seemed impossible. Strange to say, my mind during service was never more collected.

Jane Townsend, staunch and devout Methodist as she was, rebelled against the idea of her daughter marrying a poor, young, itinerant preacher. In the exchange that ensued, Holland exhibited rare self-restraint but unyielding spirit and relentless logic in parrying the thrusts of the good mother. Only a real Christian love enabled Holland to endure it though he must have experienced acute pain. The hardest blow was a statement by Mrs. Townsend to this effect: "Against you, no objection can be raised—but your *profession* is the offense. I would not draw you away from your calling, but in it are obstacles unsufferable." It was in reply to this that Holland gave the account, already quoted in a previous chapter, of the pride and ambition he had subdued and the afflictions he had suffered in coming to a triumphant decision to enter the ministry. He wrote further:

Truly it may be said of my heart—"It hath known its own sorrows" in this work. Those afflictions, however, were never increased by the affliction that they were borne in a service which, in a Christian community, put me under a *disadvantage* in the *social relations*. The suspicion of this fact now breaks upon me. In the tenderest of all points I am made to feel it. . . . *I am not prepared* to encounter it. I loved as I would have done had I not been what I am. None of those humiliating allowances were made which some unfortunates have to make whose business occupation imposes upon them such disabilities that they must pass for less than they are intrinsically worth. My dear Sister T, you understand this. I cannot consent because of my present calling to marry any body but one I love, or love any body than such as I would have loved under any other circumstances.

Amelia was placed in an extremely embarrassing position be-

tween her mother and her lover. Fortunately, she turned to a wise counsellor and one devoted to all the parties. She sought advice from Dr. Jefferson Hamilton (strangely named for opposing statesmen). He was a former pastor of St. Francis Street Church and was now stationed at Columbus, Mississippi. He wrote:

I not only would be willing that a daughter of mine should marry an itinerant, but I deem it one of the happiest lives that any man or woman can lead if they will view it in the proper light and pursue it in the proper spirit. . . . The wife of a minister who tries to make her husband useful, and to be herself what she ought to be, must not only be useful and happy, but have a host of friends among the very best of the Lord.¹⁰

The fact that Amelia was not religious and had not joined the Church presented the most serious obstacle to the hope of happy marriage. The discerning Dr. Hamilton urged Amelia to seek religion "at once and decidedly" and to separate herself as far as possible from the world and let it know that she had set out on such a course by joining the Church on probation. This course she submitted to Holland and he approved. She sent Dr. Hamilton's letter to Holland. We must now draw the veil on this unique courtship—a dramatic compound of acute pain, pure love, and complete happiness which is revealed in Holland's comments on Hamilton's suggestions. His glowing words delineate the character of Holland, perhaps more than any other words he ever wrote. He had been put into a crucible, but his integrity, truth, honor, love, and religion came out unalloyed. "My feelings are very peculiar in reading it" he wrote Amelia.

You must not be surprised that, in two visits already spent with you, I have not mentioned the subject of religion. It has been in my mind not only while we were together, but since I first loved you, especially since our engagement. Excuse me for explaining my infinite obligations to Bro. Hamilton because he has written you first such a letter. . . . Surely, you cannot, will not hesitate to take the step [joining the Church on probation] for want of sufficient security as far as the consummation of our engagement depends upon me. . . . Dear Amelia, often, very often and fervently do I pray for you, not only for your health and happiness and constant affection, but chiefly that you may soon be brought to that most important of all knowledge for mortals to have, the knowledge of your sins forgiven and the pleasant favour of God. As I devotedly love you, so do I ask for you the first of

¹⁰ Jefferson Hamilton to Amelia Townsend, March 31, 1847.

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all blessings heaven can bestow. Particularly, every evening's devotions witness my remembrance of you. I had rather a thousand times be married to you as you are than any one else I know or have ever known, but dear A— how much better for us both that my God be your God and my hopes yours. . . . I don't want you to join the church or profess yourself a spiritual penitent where I am: Yet I cannot tell the reason why. . . . Happy most happy at all times and in other places to see you, I should hate to see you one of my congregation to which I must preach, and shall be so affected, not until you are converted but until we are married.¹¹

The St. Francis Street Church was rebuilt in 1896 but the interior remains largely the same as in the original structure. In 1898, its beauty was enhanced by a large memorial window. The scene represents Christ and his apostles at the Ascension with these words, "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, to my God and your God."

Beneath the window of resplendent color is a brass tablet with this inscription:

This window is erected to the Glory of God and in memory of Bishop Holland N. McTyeire, D.D.

There are sixteen persons named who were among his congregation and friends. These include Jefferson Hamilton, Thos. O. Summers, and Jane I. Townsend.

¹¹ H.N.M., to Amelia Townsend, Thursday evening (uncertain date), 1847.

CHAPTER VII

HOLLAND TAKES HIS BRIDE TO THE FRONTIER AND THE HEART OF THE SOUTH

HOLLAND McTYEIRE and Amelia Townsend were united in the bonds of matrimony on November 9, 1847, in the St. Francis Street Church, Mobile, by the Reverend John Christian Keener, who preceded Holland as the first pastor at Demopolis Station and later succeeded him as the Senior Bishop of the M. E. Church, South. His duties and lack of means prevented Holland from enjoying a conventional honeymoon trip, so he took his bride to Demopolis. "The good bishop married and brought his sweet bride here. From that union came great blessings to the church of their choice."¹

Human affairs must fall short of perfection, but this marriage came near attaining the ideal relation of man and wife. Love attended until the end of Holland's life, which came only a short two years before hers. They passed through the critical years of the struggle to build and preserve the nation. Their predicament during the War Between the States was fantastic. Virulent disease, poverty, frequent moves, and much else of human sacrifice—all these were borne with patience and understanding before a comfortable home and a position with large responsibility came. Amid these circumstances, Amelia's devotion remained steadfast and she was always a major factor in enabling Holland to render great and varied services. His affection for her continued undiminished. No enterprises were ever so absorbing or events so important as to enchant Holland away from his wife and her supreme place in his mind and heart. In his long absences and travels, he wrote with almost daily regularity and expressed hope of a letter from her at the next stop—and he rarely failed to get it.

Their lives were complementary to each other. She was in the fullest and

¹ *The New Church Era*, Demopolis, Ala., October 10, 1895.

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best sense of the word his helpmate. . . . While he stood in the full glare of publicity, she kept their home where he found rest, comfort, and an atmosphere warm and bright with holy affection. And more than this, he leaned on her for support. Her excellent judgment, fine womanly intuitions, and clear perception of ethical principles in their application of practical questions, made her a safe and trusted counselor to the great and busy servant of the Church, who carried for so many fruitful years the burden of labors and responsibilities too heavy for ordinary men, and under which at last his great strength gave way. Had she been different he never could have been what he was, nor done the work he found to do. If the visible results of his life-work are his monument, they are scarcely less hers. The pen that shall trace his grand career for the generations to come will be unfaithful to the facts if her image be not reflected from the page. Her influence, like a thread of gold, runs through all his life from the day of their union until its close.⁹

Along with other responsibilities, Amelia McTyeire discharged fully that greatest of roles of a good wife—she mothered and nurtured a sizeable family of children—eight in all, of whom two died in infancy. Of the latter, the first, Holland Nimmons, was buried in the Townsend lot in Magnolia Cemetery in Mobile; the other, Elizabeth Virginia, called by the family, “Blackhead,” lies in the McTyeire lot in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, in Nashville. Six children grew to maturity. Mary Gayle (1848-1926), gifted, unselfish, and much beloved, married J. D. Hamilton, a manufacturer who later became a Secretary of the Board of Missions of the M. E. Church, South; John Townsend (1850-1901), who never married and spent most of his life in Mobile as a successful cotton factor; Walter Montgomery (1852-1911), another bachelor, employed many years in the central office of the N. C. and St. L. Ry. in Nashville; Amelia Townsend (1855-1927), who married a circuit rider, Jno. J. Tigert, later Professor of Philosophy at Vanderbilt University, and at his death a bishop; Holland Nimmons (1859-1907), a farmer and stockman, who married Kate Marian Brown, a lady of unusual culture and spirituality who for twenty years was treasurer of the Woman’s Board of Foreign Missions of the M. E. Church, South; and Emma Jane (1862-1942), who became the wife of William M. Baskervill, Professor of English at Vanderbilt University, whose enthusiasm and talent for writing she shared.

⁹ Fitzgerald, Funeral Remarks, *Nashville Daily American*, January 15, 1891.

The town of Demopolis, or "City of the People," to which Holland brought his bride is an historic community and is picturesquely located on high, white-limestone bluffs at the confluence of the Tombigbee and Black Warrior rivers. It was settled in 1818 by Bonapartists who fled during the "White Terror" after the fall of Napoleon. Among them were some of the Emperor's most important officers: Marshal Grouchy, who failed to arrive at Waterloo; Colonel Nicholas Raoul, who had been with him at Elba; Lefebvre-Desnouettes, a captain of cavalry and aide-de-camp, who had fought at Marengo and was made Commander of the Legion of Honor for gallantry at Austerlitz; and others.³ Alabama was then a territory and the settlement was in an area recently evacuated by Indians. Nearby, on the site of a fort built by Bienville, French Governor of Louisiana, a monument bears the inscription, "Here civilization and savagery met, and the wilderness beheld the glory of France."

The United States government made a grant of land to the French *Society for the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive*, but it was found that Demopolis was outside the limits of the grant, so the French moved away to Aigleville which became the capital of the State of Marengo, now Marengo County. There were very few of the amenities of life in Demopolis in its early history. For twenty-five years, the town continued without a religious organization of any sort and, when Churches were established, preachers did not covet it as a location. It was in 1826 that the first Methodist circuit riders visited it from the Mississippi Conference. In that year, there was set up a Marengo Circuit in the Alabama district of the Mississippi Conference but, as yet, there was no Church in Demopolis. In June, 1831, through the efforts of Jesse Boring, Presiding Elder of the Spring Hill District and an influential Methodist leader, a Quarterly Conference was held at Demopolis by which an organization of a Church was set up. Meetings were held and a successful revival, conducted by Reverend John C. Keener, brought over a hundred new members into the fold. A Church

³ Martin, Thomas W., *French Military Adventures in Alabama, 1818-1838* (Birmingham Publishing Co., 1937), p. 8.

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building, started in 1840, was completed in 1843. Keener became the first pastor and Holland McTyeire the third.⁴

Holland applied himself diligently to his duties, but he did not feel that he was enjoying much success. Perhaps the rough life on the frontier may have accounted for this to some extent, and his love affair may have been partly responsible. Shortly after his coming, he preached a sermon, March 20, 1847, on the text, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly" (Jno. x, 10). He wrote:

One pleasing circumstance is connected with this. I was boarding at J.W.H.—alone—no studious helps—discouraged in my pulpit labors—down-hearted—very. One day, I was making an open heart of it to a good local preacher, Bro. Wilcox—"No fruit of all my toil appears"—and that wasn't the worst—I felt I had no cause to be surprised—My labor was weakness itself—I was insufficient—"Now Bro. M" said he—"You are mistaken. Let me encourage you—Some sabbaths ago, I was returning from the country and met Bro. S—(a very sensible man) on the road. Tears were in his eyes—gladness in his face: he was so full!—I asked him what?—He said he had just heard a sermon on Life, and more life and having life abundantly in Christ, that had both awakened and comforted him exceedingly—He declared it was such a good sermon." ⁵

A little later, April 30, 1847, Holland used the subject "*Signs Following the Word*" and commented "At night. Was somewhat embarrassed because in the congregation was Miss Amelia Townsend—who afterwards became Mrs. McTyeire." This was about six weeks after the letter of proposal and Mrs. Townsend had not yet consented to the marriage. Jefferson Hamilton had cautioned Amelia to so dress and conduct herself that, if any one should suspect that Holland was fond of her, he would not be embarrassed.

Holland became quite active in an effort to expand the Church. He developed what he called a "campaign," in the region round about Demopolis. His subsequent methods of building the Church generally were not primarily those of the evangelist but, at that time and in that area, members were sorely needed and settlers were coming in. Holland's campaign included protracted meet-

⁴ Hand, Katherine, *Demopolis Methodism*, unidentified clipping.

⁵ H.N.M., note on manuscript of sermon.

ings at Demopolis, Greensboro, Spring Hill, and Dayton. Over twenty joined his Church at Demopolis. There were camp-meetings at Belmont and Woodville.

Shortly after the Methodists built their Church, the Presbyterians established a Church in Demopolis. The Reverend William Flynn was the pastor. Flynn and McTyeire engaged in an alternate series of lectures from week to week at their respective Churches. Concerning Flynn and the lectures Holland noted:

Reverend William Flynn, a young man about my own age, was the Presbyterian Pastor in Demopolis, Ala., when I was stationed there in 1847. A man of learning and piety—we got on harmoniously. Often studied together. As the town was small, we agreed to draw up a series of subjects on cardinal points—on which we were all agreed. On one Sunday (or Thursday night, I forget which) he was to lecture and my congregation went to hear; on the next his came to my lecture. We had good congregations. The course was popular as far as it went. It led to much study.

The series ran from April to December and some of the topics listed are: *Existence of God; Spirituality; Omnipotence; Immutability; Goodness; Truth; Faithfulness; Holiness; Eternity; Justice; Wisdom*; and so forth. Holland may have thought of publishing some of these lectures for twelve of them are meticulously edited, stitched, numbered, and bound. On Holland's first lecture, *Existence of God*, he comments: "This lecture was tough! What nonsense, for two young theologians to open a question, which the Bible never permits to be questioned?"

The Methodists of Demopolis recall with pride that the young McTyeire once labored there. The frame Church of his day was replaced in 1896 with a handsome stone-trimmed brick edifice with beautiful stained-glass windows. In the chancel are the table and flower standards of mahogany, inscribed "McTyeire," the prized relics of Holland's pastorate of more than a century ago. It was at Demopolis that Holland's Presiding Elder, Jesse Boring, "placed his finger on this young man as the future leader of Methodism." ⁶

The Alabama Conference met at Montgomery on January 26,

⁶ DuBose, H. M., *History of Methodism* (Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, 1916), p. 95.

1848. Holland's year at Demopolis came to an end. He was now admitted into full connection and was ordained Deacon during the Conference on January 30th, by Bishop Robert Paine. The Bishop sent him to Columbus, Mississippi, where his Presiding Elder was William Murrah,⁷ and where he became the pastor of one of the largest congregations in the Alabama Conference, with a membership of 225 whites and 194 Negroes.⁸ Furthermore, the life at Columbus was in marked contrast to that at Demopolis. He now found himself in the luxury afforded among wealthy cotton planters though geographically, not far distant—less than a hundred miles up the Tombigbee River—from Demopolis. Columbus, like Demopolis, was historic.

The city claims to be the earliest place mentioned in the public records of Mississippi. Here in 1540, Hernando DeSoto, before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth or the settlement of Jamestown, crossed the Tombigbee and discovered the "Father of Waters." Here, in 1736, Bienville, Governor of Louisiana, passed with a great flotilla, carrying French and Choctaw warriors, in an attempt to annihilate the Chickasaw Indians, only to meet disaster. The first settlement was made by the Spanish in 1790 at old Plymouth or Fort Choctaw. A little trading post ceded by the Choctaws in 1816 to the United States became Columbus. The town was laid out in 1821 and, in that same year, the Methodists organized a Church which met in Franklin Academy, opened as the first public school in the State, and still a part of the school system.

Methodism antedated the State of Mississippi. The territorial capital was established at Natchez, in 1798, but a few years later was transferred to nearby Washington, which remained the capital until statehood. It was at Washington in 1799, that a Methodist circuit rider, Tobias Gibson, organized the first Methodist Church in that region. The work enlarged and his health was failing, so Gibson decided to go to the Western Conference. "In September, 1802, he took the Natchez trace on horseback alone, and made the four hundred mile trip through the wilderness to attend the

⁷ Alabama Annual Conference Minutes, 1848, p. 144.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Western Conference at Strother's"—near Gallatin, Tennessee. He had not seen another itinerant in four years. Asbury embraced him and blessed him, and sent him back with an assistant. The next year, the Reverend Gibson rode over six hundred miles to the Conference which met at Cynthiana, Kentucky. He was returned once more to Mississippi only to die the following year at age thirty-four.⁹

The Natchez Circuit had thus been organized and was growing many years before the Mississippi Territory was divided into the State of Mississippi and the Alabama Territory in 1817. The white settlers were entering Lowndes County, in which Columbus is located, at that time. Prior to that, only Indians had lived in that region.

Today Natchez and Columbus, the pioneer settlements of the historic past and the cradles of Mississippi Methodism, are the Meccas of many pilgrimages. For in these places, still stand the stately colonial mansions which bear eloquent testimony to the ante-bellum era of the Old South, in which romance, chivalry and Victorian manners played a paramount role. The beautiful homes at Columbus, though generally less pretentious than those of Natchez, metropolis of the rich Mississippi delta, are more numerous. Fortunately, for the lovers of antiques and colonial architecture, Columbus was the only place of its size that escaped the ravages of the War Between the States. This seems incredible when 238 battles were fought on Mississippi soil and Columbus was alive with war-like activities from secession to surrender. Within its precincts, the Confederacy operated an immense arsenal for the manufacture of arms and munitions. After the battle of Shiloh, in 1862, the greatest battle fought on the North American continent up to that time, Columbus became a hospital center for the shattered gray hosts and, in 1864, the state capital, as the Federal armies advanced upon Jackson. Some dead of both armies were buried in Friendship Cemetery. The first Decoration Day in the nation was observed here. "The Women of Columbus, Miss., animated by noble sentiments, have shown themselves impartial

⁹ H.N.M., *A History of Methodism*, p. 500.

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in their offerings to the memory of the dead. They strewed flowers on the graves of the Confederate and of the National Soldiers," which inspired the well-known poem "The Blue and the Gray."

By the flow of the inland river,
Whence the fleets of iron have fled,
Where the blades of the green grass quiver
Asleep are the ranks of the dead;

Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the one the Blue,
Under the other the Gray.¹⁰

The magnificent virgin forests and abundance of slave labor made it possible for the planters to gratify their love of luxury and attractive homes. Most of those still seen in Columbus today, were there when the youthful Holland McTyeire brought his bride to the inviting little Methodist parsonage, which also remains. Holland was then twenty-four and his bride of a few months had just turned twenty years.

The Church, the second built by the Methodists, was erected in 1844 near the site of the first. It is the oldest Church in the city and stands on the same plot of ground with the parsonage. (Lot 5, Sq. 6, North of Main St.) After Holland's time, the building was sold for educational purposes and, in recent years, purchased by the Jews and is now the Jewish Temple. Modern windows have been put into it but, for the most part it survives in its original form, with the slave gallery in the rear and basement below. The minutes of four Quarterly Meetings, which were held in 1848, reveal steady growth in membership, both white and black. Liberal support was extended to missions including the neighboring Plymouth Mission, where Reverend George Shaeffer was in charge.¹¹

While Bishop Charles B. Galloway was collecting materials for a biography of Holland McTyeire, which was not undertaken because of the failure of his health, an anecdote was furnished him

¹⁰ Finch, F. M., *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1867.

¹¹ Quarterly Conference Journal, 1848, pp. 117-122.

in writing which purported to emanate from no less an authority than Dr. William Lowndes Lipscomb, a distinguished citizen of Columbus, whose valuable *History of Columbus* was published in 1909.

The Methodist Church and the Baptist Church stand in the same square with the back entrances adjacent. During McTyeire's pastorate at the former, the latter was without a pastor for a period. On a certain Sabbath morning, the Baptists were expecting a preacher to come across the country and preach a trial sermon looking to a possible call. The congregation gave him out and decided to join with the Methodists. The Baptist preacher, however, arrived before McTyeire entered, and seeing the congregation assembling, hitched his horse, walked in, ascended the pulpit and began the service at once. McTyeire came in with his portfolio under his arm. Not aware of what had happened, he sat down in the front seat. The preacher soon began to flounder and, by some strange intuition, became aware of a lack of accord and sympathy in the congregation. At the close, he asked, "Will some brother please conclude?" Whereupon brother McTyeire stepped forward and said: "There is some mistake about this. I had expected to preach this morning but I am grateful to this strange brother for filling my pulpit." The Baptist, without one word, seized his hat, hurried to his horse, and left town forthwith. He had answered where and when he had not been called.

Very soon after his arrival in Columbus, for some motive unknown, possibly only an incidental part of his general plan of study to improve himself for the ministry, Holland made an exhaustive study of Mohammedanism. His notes indicate that the principal sources of his investigation were Thomas Carlyle's classic, *Hero as Prophet*, and George Sales' Edition and English Translation of the *Koran*; and his learned and lengthy *Preliminary Discourse*.

The findings and results of this study were summarized in a memorandum of some fifteen pages, penned apparently at a single sitting on May 9, 1848. A study of an Islamic import may seem far afield from the life of a Methodist preacher, but delineation of

character is a major task incumbent upon every biographer. Certain attitudes of Holland McTyeire, such as his outspoken adherence to the policies of South Carolina in the issues that culminated in war, his actions during the war, which have been criticized and some writers have passed over in silence, lend support to the assumption that Holland was inclined by nature to be prejudiced, unduly tenacious of his own beliefs, in fact, sometimes unable to give impartial consideration to contrary views or ideas. We do not seek to refute these criticisms or resolve the questions raised, but we think Holland's comments on Mohammedanism throw considerable light upon his character and mental traits. Therefore, we offer some excerpts from his meditations on Mohammedanism, made for his own purposes and for no one else. They will enlighten the reader and help him, we hope, to have his own opinion about Holland's liberalism. After a brief biographical statement about Mohammed, Holland enters upon a critical appraisal of the prophet and his movement, from which we quote:

"Mohammed has done much for Arabia. His religion has been a vast benefit to those who have received it. An obscure country and people have become by it notable. Scattered tribes have become an invincible nation. From gross idolatry, from debauch, filthiness, and idleness, from the murder of children, the people have been reclaimed to the homage of one true God, to cleanliness, to order and natural affection. A legal code has been formed upon his moral code and that code was drawn from the Pentateuch as far as bare memory could aid it. Mohammedanism was the life of Arabia and, considering its principles, it was the best religion the nation or tribes were capable of receiving. . . . I could wish there were more Mohammedans: that all the Pagan world was under its sway. Yes, there are some parts of Christianity I could wish exchanged for Islamism.

I am sure the reader who has followed our story to this point realizes how saturated the young preacher was with his own religion and his complete devotion to it. It will be remembered, too, that he was only a short time out of the fervent indoctrination he received in school and college. We must recall that more abuse and unchristian spleen has been vented upon Islam than any other great religion. Let us listen to Holland on this:

Prejudice and superficial writers have all consented to disparage Moham-

med. All that can be said against him, in fact or plausible fable, is said. They set out determined to make out a case of meanness—thinking this will be of infinite service to the Christian religion. Mohammed's history—his personal habits, temperance, humanity, charity, industry—his manly qualities all greatly bother them. To disparage him and his religion is a service which they all seem to feel that they owe the Christian religion and are determined to do it—but evidently at *hard work*.

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"If this be of men, it will come to nought—but if of God—ye cannot withstand it." This was a sound remark—we gladly embrace it as a proof of the Divinity of our religion. We triumphantly speak of its success when promulgated even by simple fishermen. But on this ground what must we say of Mohammedanism? It was promulgated by one man and he ignorant of reading or writing. He worked no startling miracles for his support—the truth unaided took its way. After three years toil he had but thirteen followers, now he has more than 180,000,000! ! ! In one hundred years, it reached from Delhi to Granada.

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I think the stability of the Mohammedan religion is attributable to the abundance of the Christian system bound up in it. It is the salt of it—the leaven of it. The salvation of Arabia depends not upon the destruction but the transformation of Mohammedanism. And when the work of evangelization does *begin*, "A nation will be born in a day."

A remarkable coincidence exists in that Phillips Brooks, the well-known Episcopal clergyman, a contemporary of Holland's, chose Mohammedanism as a basic study in his ministerial preparation, influenced also largely by Thomas Carlyle. He was interested in discovering the secret of Mohammed's power and the source of the sublimity of the *Koran*, which he concluded were derived from elements shared with Christianity.¹²

Holland and Amelia were fortunate to live in their first year of married life in Columbus, Mississippi, called by some one "the sleeping beauty of the Old South;" but, even so, living could not have been more attractive for Amelia than she had enjoyed in Mobile. Sometime in the autumn of the year, she returned to Mobile, anticipating the birth of her first-born child. The exact details of this period are not of record but the minutes of a monthly meeting of the official members of the Church, on August 14th, contains this minute: "Resolved that the pulpit be left vacant during Bro. McTyeire's absence to Mobile." And a notation in

¹² Allen, A. V. G., *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks* (E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1901), I, pp. 499-504.

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a manuscript of a sermon, dated Oct. 1848, reads "Composed and written on board the S. B. Wm. Bradstreet, on my way down the Alabama River." Undoubtedly, Holland was en route to Mrs. McTyeire's mother's home in Mobile, where his first child, Mary Gayle, was born, on October 9, 1848. It is probable that either the mother or child or both failed to prosper for a time, as the minutes of the last Quarterly Meeting of the year of the Church at Columbus carry an item—"Brother McTyeire stated that afflictions in his family required absence from the Station and on motion he was allowed to leave the Station for the balance of the year."

CHAPTER VIII

THE BATTLE FOR FABULOUS AND WICKED NEW ORLEANS

NEW ORLEANS, much visited and written about, requires little description. Most readers are familiar with its status, even a century ago. The old French city, the "Vieux Carré," is separated from the modern American city by the broad and handsome Canal Street, once flowing with water. The former has always been definitely European in architecture, character, and customs. It is unique, interesting, and exotic. Untouched by the influence of Puritanism, which leavened colonial America, society in New Orleans was untrammelled by many of the restraints usual in other places.

Holland McTyeire found the city rife with drinking, gambling, and sensuality. Charleston, which Asbury described as "the seat of Satan, dissipation and folly," had only one race-track but New Orleans boasted of three. It is not difficult to imagine how shocking such a place was to the early Methodists—especially to one like Holland, who had grown up in the country and never beyond the pale of strong Christian influences.

Some of the activities, outlawed in that day, have now become accepted and desirable in American culture, even in the eyes of good, churchly people. Here music and drama as creative arts of a lofty type emerged on the American scene but some vulgarities have lingered. The period we are presenting is described by one of our best historians:

Many places of amusement, nightly open, denoted that the desire of distraction, so characteristic of the French, prevailed in this cosmopolitan city. At one theatre the elder Booth astonished the audience by his intensely natural impersonation of Richard III; at another, Anna Cora Mowatt delighted the old-fashioned play-goers; at another, Lola Montez, who had not yet outlived the notoriety of causing a revolution in Munich and the abdication of a king, fascinated crowds of gay and frivolous people by representing on the mimic stage a story of her disorderly adventures in Bavaria, and by dancing in voluptuous measure the swift, swirling tarantella. One place of amusement was devoted to French opera, which had become a

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necessity of the winter to the lovers of music. . . . Adelina Patti was just beginning in the concert hall that career which has entitled her to the name of the queen of song. Those who loved science were gratified by a course of lectures from Louis Agassiz on his favorite subjects. The Southern people heard him gladly, for his theory of the origin of man denied emphatically that the Caucasian and Negro had a common ancestor, and this hypothesis was construed to justify enslaving of the inferior race.¹

The hospitality of the Crescent City was unsurpassed, perhaps, in America. Her French and Spanish cuisine was renowned even abroad. For the elite, life was luxurious and not unlike a continuous carnival. The endless parties and balls were brought to a Saturnalian climax by the annual festivities of Mardigras. Visitors to America regarded a tour incomplete which did not include this gay city. Tourists often were fascinated by it. Rhodes quotes one of these, Lawrence Oliphant, as saying: "At the time of my first visit, in the winter of 1856-57, New Orleans was socially the most delightful city in the Union."

The American section of New Orleans was prosperous and important a century ago, just as it is today. It has long been the world's greatest cotton market. In 1853, the year of the most severe yellow fever epidemic, the largest cotton crop produced in the United States up to that time was marketed at favorable prices; never had the sugar plantations yielded more; it was and is a great center of rice production; in that year of 1853, one hundred and thirty million dollars' worth of all kinds of produce was loaded on the broad levees at New Orleans; real estate was booming and railroads were being built and projected.² New Orleans was the principal city of the slave empire but less rebellious toward the Union than some other places.

Attempts had been made to get a foothold for Methodism in the city of New Orleans several times before success came. It appears in conference minutes as far back as 1805, but several retreats were beaten from the city because of yellow fever or other misfortunes. Permanent stakes were driven in Mobile and New Orleans about 1825.

Both were very hard places. . . . Especially is this true of New Orleans.

¹ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 401-402.

² *Ibid.*, p. 402.

Within the life-time of a generation it had been under three governments. Romanism was entrenched, with all its appliances and consequences. There was no Sabbath. A pleasure-loving, dissolute and heterogeneous population was divided between superstition and infidelity. The *entrepot* for the Valley of the Mississippi, New Orleans rapidly grew from fifteen to a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, with all the concomitants of luxury and greed. Hundreds, thousands of Methodists and other professing Christians were swallowed up as they came within reach of that moral maelstrom. Fascinated, ensnared by its peculiar blandishments of sin, they became ashamed of, and then denied, their faith. . . . William Winans [greatest Methodist leader in the Lower Mississippi region] acted for some while as agent to collect funds abroad to build a church in the strongest stronghold of the world, the flesh and the devil that existed on the continent during the first thirty years of the present century. If his success was not complete, he at least put the struggling cause in position where others, under more favorable circumstances, could achieve such success.³

Those who finally "crowned the work which others began" were Keener and McTyeire—each of whom attributed the leadership and major credit to the other. They were closely and happily associated almost throughout their lives and service to the Church. In 1848, Bishop Paine transferred Keener from the Alabama Conference and appointed him pastor of Poydras Street Church in New Orleans. The next year, for the first time, Holland asked for an appointment, though serving one of the most attractive charges in the Alabama conference at Columbus, Mississippi. He wanted to join his friend and colleague, Keener, in the challenging but hitherto unproductive effort to plant Methodism solidly in New Orleans. The big city was ridden with vice and plague, but this was an appeal rather than a discouragement to the twenty-four year old minister:

It was at his own suggestion made to me, and by the appointment of Bishop Paine that he [McTyeire] was sent to New Orleans. . . . The various reverses which Methodism had up to this time suffered in New Orleans, and the frequency of the epidemics of that city, one would have thought, constituted by no means an attractive field for a young preacher, then filling one of the best appointments in the Alabama Conference.⁴

At the Alabama Conference, which assembled at Greensboro, January 17, 1849, Holland was transferred to the Louisiana Conference and stationed at Lafayette, a part of greater New Orleans,

³ H. N. M., *A History of Methodism*, p. 548.

⁴ Keener, *McTyeire Memorial Sermon*, Nashville *Christian Advocate*, May 16, 1889.

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and assigned three small charges with a combined membership of 120 White and 130 Negro members.⁵ Thus began a perilous, uphill struggle for nearly a decade, which eventually established Methodism in a forbidding but strategic community. "The moral maelstrom," and the chronic epidemics of Asiatic cholera and yellow fever were basic problems. Personal difficulties were added. Beyond exposure to disease, Holland's financial returns were meager and he had several youngsters to protect and provide for during his sojourn in the Crescent City. Both Holland and Keener early contracted the dreaded fever. Keener "met the yellow fever and out-lived it in 1849," and continued to live in the city, "a witness, and under God the chief director, of the prosperous condition of its Methodism."⁶

Holland's predecessor died of the yellow fever. Holland was laid so low that death was regarded inevitable but a physician, who came to assuage his suffering, brought him back to health, as by a miracle. "McTyeire greatly distinguished himself and won the hearts of the people by remaining with them and sharing their afflictions during the yellow fever epidemics that devastated the community. He was one of the few pastors who remained with their sorely afflicted flocks."⁷

The yellow fever ravaged New Orleans in 1847 and came back each year thereafter, reaching a peak in 1853. For the harrowing details one may read the histories. In the year mentioned, deaths reached as many as three hundred per day and exceeded altogether over eight thousand. In mortality, it equalled the great plague of London and the yellow fever epidemic at Philadelphia in 1798.⁸

The city became "one vast charnel-house."⁹ Men now went around with carts, knocking at every door and crying out, "Who have dead to bury?" The atmosphere in the streets was stifling and fetid. Emigrants just landed were nearly all attacked by the plague. Whole families died, leaving not a trace behind them; parents left young children who grew up, not only in ignorance of father or mother, but who never knew their own proper names,

⁵ Louisiana Annual Conference Minutes, 1849, p. 205.

⁶ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 548.

⁷ Louisiana Annual Conference Minutes, p. 252.

⁸ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 403-414.

⁹ Robison, W. L., *Diary of a Samaritan* (Harper & Bros., New York, 1860), p. 209.

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At that time his ministry was highly instructive and spiritual. His sermons were fresh, and of excellent quality—a sound exegesis of the word, and of faithful application to the hearer. None could more tenderly comfort the afflicted or guide the feeble; no one could track the sinner through all the windings of his heart, or lay open the depth of the carnal mind to its own consciousness more convincingly. He was greatly admired and loved by his people. The young were specially drawn to him. . . . His pastorate yielded, in those days of building and unifying, barely food and shelter.¹⁵

The Louisiana Conference convened at Baton Rouge in January, 1853. It marked a change for Holland, and he was now assigned to Wesley Chapel with a congregation of Negroes only. For five years he labored with three colored congregations, Wesley, Soule, and Winans' charges. Remember these congregations were composed of servants, many of whom were slaves, but Holland took great satisfaction in his service to them. His roll of members ran from 1232 the first year to 1500 in the last year.¹⁶

Appropriately enough, at the Louisiana Conference held in Mansfield, February 3-9, 1858, Holland was appointed to Algiers and his able co-laborer, Keener, relieved of the Presiding Eldership of the New Orleans District, which burden he had carried so long, took over the three Negro churches that Holland had served. The latter summarized Holland's pulpit days in New Orleans:

The nine years in which he was in New Orleans were remarkable for the perfect harmony which prevailed among our members and between the preachers. The fruit of peace was sown in peace, and Methodism grew stronger daily, as results show, for no city in all our Zion has sent out so large a number of men into the Southern itinerant ministry.¹⁷

At this point, after the account of McTyeire's five years of faithful and happy service to the Negroes, it would be timely to tell about his first publication in book form. This relates to slavery, the great issue of the stormy period of his youth, which was approaching settlement by war. In 1849, the Baptist State Convention of Alabama offered a prize of \$200 for the best essay on the *Duties of Christian Masters to their Servants*; the award was assigned

¹⁵ Keener, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Louisiana Annual Conference Minutes, 1853.

¹⁷ Keener, *op. cit.*

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to a committee of the leading denominations of the South. Over forty essays were submitted under assumed names. Holland, writing under the name of "Crescent," won the first prize. The three best essays were published in a volume by the Southern Baptist Publication Society, Charleston, S. C., 1851. The booklet enjoyed such a demand that Holland enlarged and republished his work in 1859, as a publication of the Southern Methodist Publishing House.

It is interesting to compare *The Duties of Christian Masters* with Harriet Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which appeared about the same time, and which was pronounced by competent critics as the greatest American novel produced up to that time. As everybody knows, this immortal treatise was written to promote abolition. This it did most effectively. *The Duties of Christian Masters*, like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was written entirely for the promotion of the welfare of slaves but within the framework of existing laws and institutions and based upon Scriptural teachings. To quote the author's words in the preface:

The writer would add a few words in reference to himself; inasmuch as, on account of the agitation on this delicate subject, all persons may not be considered at liberty to treat it. He is by birth a South Carolinian; and by education and sympathy has never been less a Southerner than that nativity calls for. His father is a cotton planter and a slave holder . . . the writer deems it by no means a disqualification for the task that he has undertaken that much of his time, in one capacity or another, has been spent on plantations and among servants. The matter he treats has passed before his eyes, in all the phases of true life, and is not now, for the first time, looked upon by him in the light of Scripture teachings . . . he has not learned to hate the master or condemn the servant. All his associations, from infancy up, have seemed for both of them the kindest feelings of his heart; and he rejoices at this opportunity of promoting their mutual welfare by the expression of sentiments that are the result of his best observations and reflections.¹⁸

This essay may be said, fairly, to be written in an English that suggests the style of the Bible itself, upon which it is based, but withal natural and apt. One critic called it a "model work."¹⁹ Another regarded it as pathetic that it came just before slavery

¹⁸ *Duties of Christian Masters*, Preface (Southern Baptist Publishing Society, 1851, Charleston, S. C.), pp. 5-6.

¹⁹ Mooney, S. F., Nashville *Christian Advocate*, November 13, 1869.

came to an end. Fifty years after it was written, it was said, quite naturally, that it would never again find readers, being addressed to "masters" of slaves. Although out of print, it is still sought by libraries and scholars.

Its exhortations to masters, to whom overseers and all others were responsible on the plantations, followed the pattern of criticisms and abuses with which the abolitionists regularly charged them. Masters were admonished that servants should be judiciously worked, allowed wholesome rest, well clothed, well fed and well housed. Authority should be exercised without wantonness or unnecessary harshness. The master, like the parent and the magistrate, has a final resort to corporal punishment but this should be applied for correction only, always with moderation, and never in frenzy or passion. "The inner man should be addressed. Shame and mortification are heavier lashes than any whip thong."

Social regulations should make the plantation a well-governed community. Serious attention of masters is directed against immorality and licentiousness. Marriage is honorable for all men. Servants should have the blessings of family life and their own homes. Family ties should not be broken for dollars and cents. The sick and the old should be provided with solicitous care in the spirit that Christ displayed toward the ailing servant of the centurion. And, finally, provision for religious instruction and worship is urged at length. The costs should be borne by the master. All domestics should share the blessings of the Home-Altar.

Depend upon it, O Christian master, your servants will confront you before His bar with whom is no respect of persons and how can you be approved when they complain—"No man cared for our souls."?²⁰

The later edition is embellished with four letters of Bishop Andrew on the theme of religious instruction for servants and some humble annals of religious experiences among slaves. Perhaps we might close these notes on a subject most serious and

²⁰ The late historian and Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, after a protracted search, found a copy of this little booklet and described it as "Unique and valuable."

(Reproduced from "The Cotton Kingdom" by William E. Dodd, Volume 27, p. 151, THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA. Copyright Yale University Press.)

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dear to Holland's heart with a touch of humor which he could blend with pathos so skillfully. Appended in a footnote is this story:

Several Negroes were under a rigid overseer, who tells this: One night, hearing a singing in one of the cabins he drew near. An old Negro was there alone, giving out a hymn to himself. After his solo, he fell into a soliloquy, which the overseer, standing outside, overheard:

"Nuv'r mind, one dese times dis nigger die: go up yonder to de gate o' heaven and knock, tap, tap. St. Peter say: 'Who dat?' 'Dis Pompey.'

'Dat Pompey what Williams use so bad down yonder?' 'Yes, dis him.' 'Come in: got good place for you.'

"Bime by Williams, he die: go up to de gate, tap, tap, tap. St. Peter say: 'Who dat?' 'Dis Williams.'

'Dat Williams what 'buse Pompey so, and use him so bad?' 'Y-e-s, dis him.' 'C-a-n-'t come in here.'"

About the time of the appearance of Holland's prize story, he entered upon a new and important activity, perhaps the most significant departure of his life from the routine of pastoral duties, certainly up to this point, February 10, 1851; he started the New Orleans *Christian Advocate*. Keener describes the circumstances and the manner of launching this enterprise:

Directly after the General Conference at St. Louis (1850), its delegates from Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana Conferences appointed a committee of which Dr. [Jefferson] Hamilton was chairman, to publish an Advocate in New Orleans. This was done only so far as a specimen number. The publication failed for want of subscribers. Six months afterward McTyeire and a colleague started the publication of the present paper on their own financial responsibility, and offered it and its profits to the Conferences of the South-west, but only the Alabama and the Louisiana consented to recognizing it as a Conference paper. Six years after, several other Conferences adopted it as their organ. This he continued to edit for eight years. It proved to be the foundation of his Connectional influence and position. He developed at a very early period in his ministry to the full proportion of his ability. His first sermons were nearly as good as his last. So it may be said of his editing. As a writer, he was one in a thousand. He could say exactly what was proper and demanded by the times, and he had the courage to say it. His style was full of thought, of facts, clear, sparkling, yet quiet and cumulative to the very last sentence.²¹

The colleague who bore the joint financial responsibility of the paper was undoubtedly Keener who modestly omits the name. The circumstances of starting the publication were indeed critical.

²¹ Keener, *op. cit.*

The Methodists had divided along the Mason and Dixon's line in 1844. The plan, already described, was amicably agreed upon. It involved the division of the properties in an equitable manner. Nevertheless, the first General Conference of the Northern section of the Church, which assembled in Pittsburgh, May 1848, pronounced the division "unconstitutional" and "formally declared the Plan of Separation 'null and void.'"²² After refusal of the Northern Church to continue fraternal relations and recognize the division of property and funds, the Supreme Court of the United States, on April 25, 1854, unanimously upheld and "enforced the Plan of Separation in all its provisions and particulars."²³

It was in these years of controversy, preceding the outbreak of war, that young McTyeire entered the editorial lists. From the first number he made the influence of his pen felt. This extended over the South and beyond. "He had not long been an editor till the Church knew that a man of uncommon quality had risen up—a man not afraid, having opinions and a gift in expressing them."²⁴ This is not the place to appraise McTyeire as an editor, as he was to rise later to even greater heights on the Tripod. While he became renowned as a skillful combatant for what he regarded as right and could use crisp language and sparkling irony, he was never charged with bitterness or harsh invective.

When he became editor, a Church paper was the place in which to find controversy and labored metaphysical and theological discussions, but he soon introduced an important change and started a new era in religious journalism—one of freshness, practical adaptation, and sweetness of Christian spirit.²⁵

The paper was regarded as a poor risk financially and that was the reason conferences came to sponsor it with reluctance, but Holland made it a potent weapon in the cause of Methodism and by hard work traveling from conference to conference, built up the subscription list to 7,000 which was large for those days.²⁶

²² H.N.M., *A History of Methodism*, p. 646.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 647.

²⁴ Carter, C. W., *New Orleans Christian Advocate*, February 28, 1889.

²⁵ *Florida Christian Advocate*, February 21, 1889.

²⁶ *Journal of General Conference*, 1858, p. 494.

Traveling over the Southern Methodist connection was an undertaking which is literally almost inconceivable to us today. The Mississippi Valley region was "the West." A Methodist preacher, later Bishop, George F. Pierce, published in book form an illuminating narrative of the tragic as well as the humorous features of stage travel. In one of the chapters or letters, as he calls them, he describes some of the experiences encountered by Holland McTyeire, the editor of the *New Orleans Advocate*, Jefferson Hamilton, himself, and others returning to New Orleans from a Kentucky Conference. They left Lexington before daybreak, nine of them crowded into what was called a "mud-wagon," with much baggage and:

... sped at the lowest gait compatible with what is called progress. We had to walk up hill and down hill, and the only matter of congratulation among us was that we did not have to carry a rail. When we reached the breakfast-house, Brother McTyeire, whose taste is cultivated and judgment prompt and clear, declined to eat, and concluded to walk on. The speed of the stage may be guessed when I say that we did not overtake him under eight miles.²⁷

The party went without a mid-day meal, ate supper in a log-cabin, and started next morning in another coach amid intense cold. On the journey, the vehicle capsized; the driver was nearly blind and lost his way. The next day, they took a regular coach but the casualties were scarcely less distressing. Nine hours were required to negotiate sixteen miles; the coach went off the road into a ditch from which all the freezing passengers were scarcely able to retrieve it; later it was found that the king-bolt had been broken, which, after much loss of time and abortive effort, was corrected.

The hardships were faced cheerfully, with frequent interchange of jest and humor—they were part of the life of Methodist preachers and others whose business necessitated travel. A church publication not only required editing, but it must have Conference support and subscribers who furnished the finances.

In the New Orleans period of his life, Holland encountered stark tragedy in the mysterious and unexpected fashion that it

²⁷ Cf. Pierce, G. F., *Incidents of Western Travel* (Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1859), pp. 239-243.

sometimes appears—but God's ways are above our ways and sorrows are a share of all human experience. We give his account of this delicate, poignant, and intimately personal episode:

One morning in 185—, as I was crossing Gravier Street, New Orleans, a voice called, "Mr.— can we engage your services for a funeral this afternoon? Mr. C. died last night." "Mr. C.," I replied, "What *was* his full name?" He told me. "Where did he die?" Pointing to a large granite front store, corner Magazine and Gravier streets, he answered, "There, in his room on the third floor. I will step up there with you, if you wish to see." I asked to go alone. The tidy Creole nurse, her mission done, was adjusting the furniture, and folding up clothes. A coffin rested on two chairs, in the middle of the cheerless room. I uncovered the face and there lay my dear friend, B.F.C.! . . . Strange conjunction! Like two voyagers on life's tempestuous sea, whom the waves had long parted, here we were again! My thoughts and feelings, as I gazed upon the dead face and reviewed the past, were such as I can have but once. I uncovered the hands, folded by strangers on his heart, and took hold of the one that, in the Cokesbury prayer-meeting, was laid on my head, as he told me to pray, and placed a chair for me to kneel down upon. It was so cold and stiff!

Madame —, the landlady, out of respect for her boarder, whose amiable nature always gained on those about him, offered her parlor for the funeral services. The store was closed, and the employers and clerks attended. Few, formal, and deferential was the company—just such as can be found only in a great commercial city, and on such an occasion. My friend had even won upon "the leading man of the firm," from whom I learned that he had been there for a good while; was retiring, not making new acquaintances, seldom going to church, and was not aware that he belonged to any church, Protestant or Catholic; rather thought he was a Protestant—"very moral man, very upright and a *gentleman*." The company were surprised at the emotion of the preacher, until he departed from the ritual so far as to let them know that the dead man was no stranger to him. The preacher was the chief mourner. The last benedictions were pronounced at the tomb, and thus again was fulfilled the saying that is written, "The last shall be first, and the first last." ²⁸

During his pastorate in New Orleans, McTyeire served for the first time as a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. J. C. Keener, T. Samford, and H. N. McTyeire were elected as the delegates to the third General Conference of the Church which assembled at Columbus, Georgia, May 1, 1854. This was unusual recognition for a young man not yet thirty and enabled Holland to visit his old home near Columbus. He was appointed to the Committees on Episcopacy and Mis-

²⁸ *Reminiscences of Cokesbury.*

sions. Jointly with his colleague Keener, he presented "Resolutions concerning the education of Chinese youths, which were warmly supported."²⁹

Four years later, which proved to be Holland's last in Louisiana, he was again elected to the General Conference, which this time met in the Hall of the House of Representatives in the capitol at Nashville, Tennessee, on May 1, 1858. This Conference and Holland's appearance have been described by a contemporary—"a Conference that brought together the best and the noblest of our church that the old South produced, its consummate quality and flower. We see him: tall, strong, rather rugged, not yet portly, self-poised, calm, but alert."³⁰ He played a large part in the Conference and from it received the greatest recognition he had yet attained in the service of his Church, though he supported an unpopular measure. Keener was not a delegate to the Conference but Holland was appointed again on the Committees on Episcopacy and Missions.³¹

Holland had seen the death of preachers in the cities of Mobile and New Orleans because of yellow fever. He thought it unwise and inhuman to move men who had become immune and bring others to take their places who were almost sure to contract disease and might become martyrs. To expose themselves was indeed courageous but here discretion could be the better part of valor.

He, therefore, advocated and secured the passage of a law that exempted New Orleans from the two years limit in the appointment of Pastors. . . . He respected precedents, but he was also a maker of precedents. He thought that when men had been in New Orleans long enough to be reasonably safe from yellow fever, it was bad economy to send them away only because two years had passed, making a levy for new men likely to die the first summer. . . . He held to nothing simply because it was old, rejected nothing simply because it was new.³²

Holland was criticized for sponsoring this action, as some thought he was endeavoring to secure discrimination for himself as a New Orleans pastor. However, Holland was not destined to

²⁹ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1854, pp. 231 and 250.

³⁰ Carter, *op. cit.*

³¹ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1858, p. 384.

³² Haygood, A. G., *Southern Christian Advocate*, February 28, 1889.

return to New Orleans, where his action proved popular. In fact, the New Orleans exemption remained in effect until 1882, when yellow fever had greatly diminished, and even then, a body of petitioners appeared at the General Conference asking that the law be not repealed.

Holland made a report on the operations of the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* and presented exhibits. The Committee on Books and Periodicals, in turn, made a favorable report to the Conference on the *Advocate* and declared:

Its fiscal condition is sound, and an open door for usefulness stands before it. . . . It promises to sustain itself and enlarge its sphere of healthful operation.³³

In the preceding Conference, it had been determined that a Publishing House of the Church should be established in Nashville. McTyeire was largely instrumental in this decision. In the lively debate he was described as

. . . perfectly self-possessed, his manner deliberate, his positions well taken, his words carefully chosen, his logic faultless, and his reasoning unanswerable.³⁴

The Publishing House started operations in supplying the necessities "for sound and healthy religious literature" in 1855. John B. McFerrin, a man of extraordinary abilities, was made editor of the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, which was housed in the new Publishing House. This paper was proving a splendid venture, both as a spiritual power and as a financial success. The Conference of 1858 designated Nashville as the center of publication activities for the entire Church and the Nashville *Advocate* the principal and central organ of publication. The Conference proceeded to the election of an editor. On the first ballot, Holland McTyeire was elected, receiving 107 of the 150 votes cast.³⁵ This was undoubtedly recognition of his accomplishments as founder and editor of the *New Orleans Advocate*, but it meant that Holland must move to Nashville. John

³³ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1858, p. 494.

³⁴ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, March 2, 1889.

³⁵ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1858, p. 509.

B. McFerrin was elected Book Editor, an exacting position of large importance.

Holland was now recognized as one of the leading religious writers of the South and other recognition followed. At the Commencement of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia, the Mecca of Georgia Methodism, shortly after the General Conference, the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon Holland. Nor were evidences of appreciation lacking in New Orleans wheré he had given all but life itself in the last years. The one of these that gratified Holland most was a message dated June 14, 1858, signed by nineteen of his constituents and accompanied by a magnificent silver service:

Rev. H. N. McTyeire:

Dear Brother:

We have learned with regret that your field of labor and usefulness is about to be transferred from New Orleans to Nashville, and as members of the Methodist Church in New Orleans, we beg you to accept our prayers for your future happiness and welfare and as a slight testimonial of our love and affection for you as a man and a Christian; and our high appreciation of your able and efficient services in the Church, we beg that you will accept for Sister McTyeire the accompanying Silver Tea Set.

CHAPTER IX

HOLLAND MOVES TO NASHVILLE WHERE WAR INTERRUPTS HIS EDITORIAL CAREER

IN mid-summer of the year 1858, Holland McTyeire moved with his wife and their five youngsters to Nashville, where he assumed his duties as editor of the leading journal of his Church. The home was an unpretentious frame residence, east of the Cumberland River in Edgefield. This was quite convenient to Holland's office, as the new Publishing House was not far away, on the west bank of the river.

Nashville was the first settlement in the fertile blue grass region of what is now Tennessee. When James Robertson, the founder, came there in 1780, with a few families, it was in western North Carolina. It is uncertain whether the town, incorporated four years later, took its name in honor of Abner Nash, then Governor of North Carolina, or his brother, General Francis Nash, a soldier of the Revolution, who died gallantly at Germantown.

Tennessee attained statehood in 1796, and Nashville was chartered as a city in 1806, destined to become the capital. From the beginning, Nashville was an educational center. The State of North Carolina, through the efforts of Robertson, a member of the legislature, made land-grants for the establishment of Davidson Academy, as early as 1785. This became Cumberland College (1806), and finally the University of Nashville (1826), first of numerous colleges and universities.

The institutions of learning, the publishing plants which grew up, together with the classical buildings gave basis for Nashville's subsequent boast of being the "Athens of the South." The capitol building, only three years old when the McTyeires came, was erected on a site on the top of the city's highest hill, suggestive of the Acropolis. The structure was fashioned after a Grecian temple, with Ionic colonnades and a cupola arising to a height of 205 feet.

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In course of time, there has been added to the city's beautiful buildings a permanent and complete replica of the Parthenon, with its forty-six magnificent columns, frieze, and statuary. The most historic building of Nashville is the Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson, preserved with its original furnishings as a national shrine.

In 1858, there were only about fifteen thousand people in Nashville, approximately the same size as Mobile when Holland went there.¹ Unlike the *New Orleans Advocate*, the *Nashville Christian Advocate* was a going concern but the change from a local to a connectional paper, decreed by the General Conference, required expansion, more subscribers, and new policies. Holland was responsible to the Book Committee of five members, which had oversight of the Church's publishing interests and formulated policy. The magnitude of the editor's task precluded dividing time with a regular pastorate, as was the case in New Orleans. Holland remained a member of the Louisiana Annual Conference and continued to attend its sessions. It was necessary to travel around to all the Annual Conferences in the interest of his paper. He continued some preaching, however; he often filled pulpits, in and around Nashville when at home, and sometimes at Conferences. Occasionally, he went beyond the Methodist fold, and preached in such churches as the Presbyterian in Nashville, of which Andrew Jackson had been a member. Though travel facilities were improving, there was still no luxurious mode of getting about. "Connections are well enough while the iron rail lasts; when that goes out, there is confusion, detention, and every evil works against the traveller," Holland wrote.² Things did not go well all the time even on railroads. A fatal accident was narrowly averted when Holland was en route to the West Virginia Conference in 1860. He attributed the preservation of his life to a kind Providence, when the locomotive pulling his train was derailed by logs maliciously placed on the track, but after jumping along the ties some fifty yards, it reeled against an embankment

¹ The Federal Census of 1860 gave a population of 16,988.

² *Nashville Christian Advocate*, December 30, 1858.

instead of over-turning. He was riding in the first car back of the engine.³

The Editor, as seen in his office, is pictured by an associate:

Being a youthful printer at the case, we were attracted by the tall, erect form, and genial face, and earnest eye of the new-comer, as he passed through our department into the editorial rooms. He was clad in a well-fitting suit of broadcloth, the coat being of the old-style long frock pattern, tidily set off by a white neck-tie; and his expressive countenance was shaded into softer lines, possibly, beneath a black felt hat of striking amplitude of brim, worn somewhat negligently. We have often recalled the picture. Even then he was distinguished by an interblended majesty and kindness of bearing that drew all people reverently toward him—unerring omen of his development into that grand symmetrical character which secured the highest favor of Heaven and gave him great power in the Church and in the world. The wisdom of his selection to this editorship he very soon demonstrated. In an experience of eight years with the *New Orleans Advocate* he had acquired gracefulness and cogency of style—a Saxon vividness—that placed him in the front rank of Church writers. As successor of the ponderous Dr. McFerrin and predecessor of the learned Dr. Summers, he did a work of incalculable importance to Southern Methodism.⁴

Many estimates of Holland's work on the *Nashville Advocate* could be cited but a few from men of acknowledged editorial ability are offered. They constitute the best qualified judges. Elijah E. Hoss, an editor of rare brilliance and admittedly one of the greatest in Methodism, once Editor of the *Nashville Advocate*, wrote:

He was elevated to the editorship of the *Nashville Christian Advocate*. It was a difficult task to succeed the versatile and popular John B. McFerrin, who had held the post for fourteen years, but Dr. McTyeire measured up to the demands of the occasion. In this wider sphere, he grew with his growing responsibilities, and not only met but surpassed the best hopes of his friends. No Methodist editor in this country, with the possible exception of Dr. Thos. E. Bond, Jr., has ever equalled him in brilliancy and power.⁵

John J. Lafferty, another gifted editor, perhaps a little flamboyant, nevertheless offers some incisive comment:

He was our matchless editor. The Tripod was his throne of power. Here he was easily foremost. The *Nashville Advocate* under his hand was mighty as the mace of Richard Coeur de Lion. . . . He was alert, aggressive, trenchant.

³ *Ibid.*, September 13, 1860.

⁴ J.L.K., in the *Sunday School Visitor*, 1889 (clipping from scrapbook).

⁵ *The Arkansas Methodist*, February 20, 1889.

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He discussed themes of lasting wisdom with fullness and amplitude of thought. . . . His style was select, sufficient, aphoristic, often pungent. . . . He never wrote an obscure sentence. No subject was smothered by verbosity. He held up his theme in a basket of wire, with wide meshes between the simple steel strands, open to all eyes.⁶

The editor of the New York *Christian Advocate*, the connectional paper of the Methodist Episcopal Church, wrote:

He was chosen Editor of the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, the leading official organ of the denomination. To this office he brought talents that eminently qualified him for the position, and the brilliancy he displayed in the management of the paper called the attention of the Church and marked him for higher responsibilities.⁷

McTyeire's appearance at Conferences and on other occasions, while Editor, usually brought favorable reactions for his paper and toward him.

Some critics of his preaching regarded him as too deliberate, given to heavy discourse, thoughtful but not popular. No one was more aware of his shortcomings and failures than he. At other times, his congregations and listeners were moved by spiritual impacts that all but transfigured them. This contrasting quality of his utterances is revealed in a report of his appearances at the Holston Conference. His first visit was at Chattanooga in 1858, when Bishop Andrew was presiding, and introduced him as the Editor of the Nashville *Advocate*. He made only a brief talk at the opening of the Conference, but, on Sunday night preached a sermon that "made a profound impression" on his audience, although "a majority of the preachers didn't even hear it." They went to the Presbyterian Church to hear a preacher renowned for his eloquence in preference "to the slow-speaking young stranger." But the reports from those who heard McTyeire were so enthusiastic that they made "some of us almost regret that we had preferred Fulton's magnetic delivery and charming rhetoric, to McTyeire's suggestive, analytical and clear exegesis."⁸

In the following year, the Holston Conference met at Abingdon, Virginia. McTyeire attended with other connectional of-

⁶ *Richmond Christian Advocate*, March 7, 1889.

⁷ Undated clipping in scrapbook.

⁸ Bishop, Rev. B.W.S., *Holston Methodist*, May 8, 1889.

ficers to present their several interests. Bishop Early, who had an inveterate dislike for any kind of demonstration in religious gatherings, was presiding, and McTyeire preached again. The same chronicler wrote:

No body suspected demonstration under the preaching of Dr. McTyeire, and there was no shouting but it was because the preacher stopped in time. . . . The Peroration was grand. The objection was it stopped too suddenly. It was like a piece of music whose strains have grown sweeter and sweeter for an hour, stopping when the melody had reached a climax. There was no descent—the last note was the richest and the sweetest.⁹

During the early years at Nashville, the Grim Reaper invaded the McTyeire family. In less than a biennium, Holland lost his father, his mother, his brother Henry, and an infant daughter. John McTyeire died at his home in Uchee, July 13, 1859, and Henry followed him ten years later. The father was 67 years old, Henry was only 37. The mother, Elizabeth Nimmons, whose name Holland bore, was quite feeble and practically blind when she came to the end, aged 57, at Uchee, April 21, 1861. Meanwhile, in May, 1860, Elizabeth Virginia MyTyeire, Holland's little daughter, died in her father's home in Nashville.

Among the file of Elizabeth Nimmons McTyeire's beautiful letters, the most touching and spiritual of all is a letter to Amelia McTyeire, sharing her love and sympathy in the loss of her baby girl, called "Blackhead" by the family. The latter lies in Mt. Olivet Cemetery in Nashville, the others sleep in the family graveyard at Uchee. The markers are slabs of white marble bearing appropriate verses from the Bible and poetic epitaphs, descriptive of the departed ones. Here, those already mentioned were preceded by Caroline, Holland's sister whose marriage to Malachi Ivey was happy but short—she departed August 27, 1847, in her twenty-first year—and by Caroline Montgomery Hazeltine, who died in her eleventh year on August 3, 1857.

It is remarkable that Holland succeeded so well in those first years with the Nashville *Advocate*, in the face of such concentration of personal loss as he sustained. A possible answer is that the

⁹ One Presiding Elder told another after the service, one more minute and he would have shouted, in spite of Bishop Early.

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sorrows served to quicken his spiritual insight and strengthen him in his devotion to the cause he served. Some such inference could be drawn from the fact that an editorial on the passing of "Black-head," published in the *Family Circle* of the *Advocate* under the title, *Ministry of Little Children*, touched the hearts of more people than anything he ever wrote.¹⁰

Holland attended the annual conferences regularly but he also covered meetings of other religious bodies. In the spring of 1859, he attended the Anniversary of the American Bible Society in New York, and later the Anniversary of the Sunday School Society in Columbia, South Carolina. In June of that year, he returned to Randolph-Macon for Commencement, at which there was a large alumni reunion. Holland was chairman of a committee of the alumni, which presented a resolution to the Board of Trustees requesting the establishment of a *Chair of Biblical Literature*, accessible to all students, and to ministerial students without cost. "The Bible," according to the resolution, "as a text-book, ought to occupy a central place in education, as it does in morals."¹¹

War clouds were gathering and, toward the end of 1859, the *Advocate* began to shoot some bolts of invective against abolitionists, Republicans, and the North generally. The Editor expressed his open contempt for "Lincolndom." We need not attempt to appraise these attacks, morally, religiously, or otherwise. This is a factual story of a man's life and not an apologetic or a eulogy. Slavery was a complicated issue which, in spite of individuals and nations, wrought greater havoc than any other problem in American history. At the time we are describing, it had already rent Methodism in twain and was moving inexorably to our greatest national tragedy—a bloody, fratricidal war.

With Holland McTyiere's attitude and part in it we must deal. To what has already been cited, notably what he wrote in the *Duties of Christian Masters*, we shall add only two paragraphs from many pages he wrote about the slavery problem in his *History*

¹⁰ This editorial appeared May 10, 1860. It has been often reprinted in secular and religious papers. The author has supplied photostatic copies in reply to requests for it in recent years. See Appendix C.

¹¹ Irby, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

of *Methodism*. This seems to present his attitude as nearly as any short generalization could do. He is discussing the struggle in the Church which arose over emancipation, and stating the case against it:

Others took the ground of Pauline casuistry: "Neither if we emancipate, are we better; neither if we emancipate not, are we the worse." They saw the question of slavery not in an abstract but in a concrete form. It was a part of social life, as it had come down to them. It was wrought into domestic and industrial institutions, and was recognized and regulated by civil law. If they could have formed a community or State on theory, slavery would not have entered into it; it was an evil which they would have precluded by choice and on policy. But for a hundred and fifty years the ships of Bristol and Liverpool and Boston had been unloading captive slaves upon the shores of what is now the United States; and the unquestioned usages of Christian kings and governments, of Churches and ministers and people, had wrought them into the fabric of the community. In the language of the historian Bancroft, the institution had been "riveted by the policy of England, without regard for the interests or the wishes of the colony."

While there was abhorrence of the cruel cupidity that incited clannish wars on the Dark Continent, for the purpose of capturing barbarians and slaves there, to transport them into slavery here, the question remained for Christian men at the close of the eighteenth century: "What is the best thing now to be done?" To return the Negroes to their native land required more ships than all Christian nations owned—leaving out of view a repetition of the modified horrors of the middle passage. Few would assert that they were prepared for self-support and self-government, and fewer still that half-reclaimed pagans could be benefited by being remanded into paganism. There was no provision for colonizing them on the American continent, and no proposition to enfranchise them as citizens. An impossible gulf stood in the way of a general amalgamation. Here and there a master might impatiently or conscientiously wash his hands of the great evil, and put an end to all questionings so far as he was concerned, by an act of emancipation; but what of a universal law and movement in that direction?¹²

So war came. In the initial stages, the tide ran strongly against the Union, and Holland wrote articles of confident belief in the future of the Confederate States and the ability of their soldiers to defend them. By August, 1861, passports were necessary to leave or enter Nashville. Holland explained this to his readers:

This point of intercourse with Louisville and the North has been so abused by spies and the enemies of the Confederate States, as to make the restriction necessary for the time being.¹³

¹² H.N.M., *A History of Methodism*, p. 376.

¹³ H.N.M., *Nashville Christian Advocate*, August 29, 1861.

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Holland doggedly persisted with the publication of his paper in the face of impending doom. Other Church papers, including his own child, the *New Orleans Advocate*, folded up for lack of funds. Holland increased his subscription rate on January 1, 1862, but the end was not far off.

Fort Donelson fell on February 16th, and Nashville was left undefended. That very day dispatches had reported a great Confederate victory and a complete route of the Yankees. Nashville went to bed with confidence that all was well. When the capture of the Confederate army became known, there was confusion and panic in the city.¹⁴

Holland wrote a "Private" account of what happened to Nashville and his paper, but it was nevertheless published and we give it in part:

. . . General Johnston and staff and General Breckinridge left their headquarters in Edgefield, near my house, on Sunday night the 16th Feb., at 11 o'clock. This Editor, being justly obnoxious to Lincolnism, left soon after, having no desire to risk having the oath tendered him or the Bastille. Dr. Summers and family left at sunrise next morning. I saw him a few days ago in Mobile, intending to go to Tuscaloosa soon. Dr. McFerrin and family left Monday morning. . . .

After placing my family in Decatur, I returned to Nashville on Wednesday, and remained 'till 5½ p.m. Few people were to be seen in the streets. The stores were closed and bolted. Vast amounts of quartermaster's and commissary's stores have been lost, wasted and given away. The Government began too late to remove them. I saw no Union flags flying anywhere, nor any white flag: only hospital flags.

The Governor and both houses of the Legislature left in special trains on Sunday evening, with the archives of the State. Such as could not be removed were burnt on Capitol Hill, together with the old guns in the armory. The railroad bridge was burnt on Wednesday night and the bottom dropped out of the wire suspension bridge—the wires left hanging. By long knocking at the door of the Publishing House I got in. Three clerks, Knight, Carter and Carroll were keeping house. Mr. Locken, the binder, was on hand also. Silent as the grave was our Publishing House. I spent an hour or two in *Advocate* office, and burnt a bushel or more of papers and letters, putting things in order, if any of Lincoln's emissaries should come spying about. The best we can hope of the Publishing House is, that it will remain in status quo during the enemy's occupation. They can't stay there long. Nashville will likely be burnt, first or last.

Besides not wishing, in common with my friends and neighbors who also left Nashville with the retreating army of Gen. Johnston, to subject myself

¹⁴ *The Great Panic* (Johnson and Whiting, Nashville, Tenn., 1862), Library of Congress.

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and family to the uncovenanted mercies of Lincolndom, I had this special reason. The Post Office was removed on Monday the 17th. The Yankee officials would hardly allow me to edit such a paper as I liked, and I would not edit such a one as they liked. Even provided the *Advocate* could have been got out as formerly, there were no mails to take it off. Nashville would be cut off from the Confederacy where our readers are, so I had no longer any business there. Had Gen. Johnston made a stand before the city, its citizens would have rallied to him with pikes and every other available weapon. But when Generals give up, and armed hosts retire, what can unarmed citizens do? The tameness of the surrender, without a blow, must have made the bones of Andrew Jackson turn in his grave at the Hermitage. But enough for the present.

Yours in full assurance of hope, and of the Southern Confederacy.
March 6, 1862

H. N. McTyeire¹⁵

Some of Holland's predictions did not materialize; the occupation of Nashville took place without fire or bloodshed,¹⁶ but the Methodist Publishing House, with its eight power-presses and other equipment, was seized and used at different times as a printing establishment, arsenal, and hospital.

In the panic, many citizens had fled in terror and with great sacrifice to themselves, but those who returned found Nashville as quiet and peaceful as it had been under the Confederacy, and, in later years the United States government compensated the Methodist Church for damages sustained by the Publishing House.

Driven from his post in Nashville by the invasion of the Federal army, Holland began a period in his life that seems fantastic today, but he was determined to continue his Christian service and he had to go where the invaders could not interfere. He moved into a remote region of Alabama and kept right on preaching. One of his sermons was entitled, "*God Leading His People*," on the text, "As an eagle stirreth up her nest—so the Lord did lead him. (Deut. xxxii:9-12)." On the margin of this, he wrote, "In February, 1862, I was stirred up in Nashville by the Northern Army invading and went to Butler County, Ala., and rusticated." Elsewhere, he wrote "refugeed." His daughter thus described this novel adventure:

In the spring of 1862, at the invasion of the Federal forces, my father, to

¹⁵ H.N.M., *Southern Christian Advocate*, March, 1862.

¹⁶ Cf. *The Great Panic*.

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meet the emergency for ready money, proceeded to sell his household goods for the small sum of \$300; and making as hurried an exit as time would allow, established his family in a remote section of the Alabama woods.¹⁷

Uncle Cy, who had helped build John McTyeire's first home in Barnwell and the second in Uchee, again did yeoman service and, with the assistance of the other servants, built another home for the McTyeires. This time he made the furniture. Most clothes, and even shoes, were made on the place. Holland named the new home "*Butler Lodge*." It was located about twenty miles from Greenville in what was then Butler County but now a part of Crenshaw County.¹⁸

McTyeire began preaching right away. The record shows that he preached on the *Parables of the Talents* (Matt. xxv:14-31) at "Antioch, Butler Co., Ala., March 1862: with liberty." He covered a wide range of rural churches. Soon he built a church, again employing Uncle Cy and his entourage. The construction of this church, "between the Pataoliga and Concecuk rivers," which Holland called, *Salem in the Woods*, reminiscent of the church he attended in Barnwell, was described in one of numerous letters he wrote to the *Southern Christian Advocate*.¹⁹

Before quoting from the letters at some length we want to advert again to Uncle Cy, whose dexterity and versatility, as described, may seem beyond the range of possibility:

At log-rollings and house-raisings he was head man . . . He was fabulous, in my eyes for strength and skill . . . He was a great axeman and could hew to the line . . . Uncle Cy became a fair plantation carpenter and blacksmith; could make a plough and stock it, hang doors and gates, and make a wagon that would run. On my father's death, Cy became the property of my mother; for, he thought and fully said in his will, she could not keep up the plantation without him.²⁰

The section in which the McTyeires refuged was, and still is, quite primitive. There are few inhabitants there today and these are chiefly Negroes. The degree of seclusion may be surmised from

¹⁷ Baskervill, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁸ The author visited this region in 1939. There is a McTyeire bridge over Pidgeon Creek; near Oakey Streak is a house of logs that may be "Butler Lodge."

¹⁹ June 11, 1863 (published in Augusta, Georgia, in war days).

²⁰ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, Letter to Editor, *Southern Christian Advocate*, Columbia, S.C., January 6, 1887.

two incidents. Holland wrote that he went to Auburn one day. He wore, of course, his homespun clothes and was hatless—and felt like Robinson Crusoe! When one of his neighbors, who was returning from town was asked about the state of the war, he replied: "Waal, Sir, I didn't ax."

We shall now close with some excerpts from Holland's "*Letters from the Country*," as he entitled them, published in the *Southern Christian Advocate*, and signed "M.P."—probably Methodist Preacher.²¹ He was having a great time in the country, a life always attractive to him, and wrote in fine humor:

. . . No morning and evening packets here, no daily trains, no telegraph poles, none of these. Once a week, unless Pigeon Creek is up, a mail rider brings the letter bag to the Post Office within six miles of me. . . . We country people don't keep in a fever of excitement; and one rumor soaks well in before another contradicts it. . . .

To the country you must come to find out the sacrifice the people are making for independence, and to feel the throb of the great heart that sustains this war. Here you may see women doing field work—their husbands, brothers, sons, in the army. White women are holding the plow handles. . . .

Salt is the problem. . . . Many families have not a peck of salt; some have not a grain. . . . I have heard say that hickory ashes or blackjack ashes mixed with salt will make it go twice as far in curing meat.

Hard things to get among us are shoes and hats. . . . Yesterday in a loom not a mile away, I saw just the thing for bonnets. . . . Let not fashion regard with a disdainful smile, this piney woods bonnet. With a pretty face under it, and a halo of patriotic industry all over it, it is a very love of a bonnet. . . .

Uncle Cy has just finished me a couple of staunch bed-steads with slats, and I have returned the one that was borrowed. . . . I would rather sleep on it all the days of my life and die on it than upon anything of Yankee make.

When last in Mobile, I inquired in every shoe store on Dauphin Street for ladies shoes No. 4. None to be had. I told A. the result and the prospect of being barefooted was imminent. . . . Madame began to get pretty close to *terra firma*. . . . August is the month of snakes in the country—bad snakes, too. I would as soon be shot at with a rifle ten paces, as to be hit by a rattlesnake with ten rattles, under the dog star. . . .

I must go now, for the fodder pulled down the other day must be taken up. Sans hat, sans coat, I shall soon be slinging bundles up to the top of a stackpole, and if ever you wander this way there shall be a welcome for you in my Lodge, and also provender for thy beast.

August 11, 1862

M.P.²²

²¹ Most of these quotations are found in Moorman, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44, selected by him from the McTyeire scrapbook.

²² *Southern Christian Advocate*, August 11, 1862.

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Last Saturday, that blessed institution came along, the circuit preacher. . . . Nearing our little log house Church, I counted thirteen mules and horses hitched. Pretty fair turnout. But the first fodder pulling is over and the pastor is popular. . . .

August 26, 1862

M.P.²²

Domestic independence progresses in this portion of the Confederacy. I sit to a table of Uncle Cy's making, to write to you, with new pants of cotton raised on the soil, ginned and spun and woven, cut out and sewed here. This many a day I have not worn anything quite so much to my notion. Better than merino, doeskin, cassimere, alpaca, and what not. I am proud of them for A. made them—her first effort in that line, and they fit first-rate. They are striped, checked backwards and forwards, colored up and down—so as I cannot describe to the uninitiated. The coloring is not of foreign ingredients, either. Black gum, sweet gum, hickory and maple bark furnish the coloring for our Sunday gear in these parts.

Here are my shoes too, honest, high quartered shoes, tied with staunch buckskin strings. The cow and deer browsed in these bottoms; . . . These shoes are just the thing to stand in an hour and a half on Sundays. I have a pair of boots laid away to visit the outside world in, should occasion ever come, but I am in probability of becoming so wedded to these home made, as to travel in them or others on the same last, wherever I go.

Last Sunday I saw neighbor Majors at meeting with all the minor Majors, in the shape of seven or eight boys. Last Saturday and Sunday, Reverend Jno. Dowling of Dale County, . . . and myself, held a meeting of some interest in Covington County, north of Conecuh river . . . I had one vacant Sabbath left, and gave it to them as a regular monthly appointment hereafter, and have hope of seeing a Church planted there at no distant day. . . .

The conscript officer has been through our country since my last; and conscribed several; . . . The conscript officer enrolls halt, lame, and sick, and sends them on to the Notasulga Camp. . . .

September 16, 1862

M.P.²⁴

The President's Proclamation, setting apart the 18th of September as a day of Thanksgiving to God for the favor he has shown our nation in the recent victories, reached us too late for Church observance.

It was settled by Johnny [his oldest son]—"Why Thanksgiving means you have a big dinner."

When it shall please God to make our enemies willing for peace, and these calamities be overpast, will there be the same religious susceptibilities, the same honor paid to Jehovah in high and low place?

Last Saturday and Sunday were happy days, and long to be remembered in our little log tabernacle—Antioch.

Peter and John (see Luke 22:8) had not wherewithal to prepare the pass-over on account of the blockade. Where is the wine to come from? . . . A bottle of Port had been in my medicine box, but a case of sickness in the family during the summer, and an invalid soldier lately returned from Tupelo, had used up a good portion of it. . . .

²² *Ibid.*, September 4, 1862.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1862.

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Your regular hymnologist may sneer at these songs—call them doggerel, etc.—but because for every line of poetry there are two or four of chorus. But they have the advantage of being easier to learn. The people can enjoy much melody on a small memory and do large singing on a small capital. September 26, 1862 M.P.

Yesterday I filled my appointment to a serious congregation at Ebenezer. . . . Sunday before, organized a Church of nine members over on Conecuh River—where the seat of Hardshellism is. . . . Three of the new members elected baptism by immersion, which I attended to on Tuesday evening, at the millpond, in the presence of many witnesses. . . .

Postscript, October 6, 1862

M.P.²⁸

²⁸ *Ibid.*, October 16, 1862.

CHAPTER X

McTYEIRE ASSUMES LEADERSHIP IN THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA

THE fall of Fort Donelson, western bulwark of the Confederacy, was the beginning of Grant's plan to cut the South asunder from West to East—consummated with the ruthless efficiency and tragic consequences. In April, 1865, the gallant but starving and ragged gray armies were compelled to lay down their arms. The devastation which had been wrought, and the pitiable poverty to which the South was reduced, has often been written about but "may not be described." "Two thousand one hundred and ten battles had been fought, and hundreds of thousands of lives and thousands of millions of property had been destroyed." ¹

The Methodist Church, then the most populous one, was divided literally altar against altar. The Northern Church was a staunch supporter of the Union cause and, in the words of President Lincoln, "sent more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to Heaven than any." ² The Southern Church, though never officially endorsing the Confederacy, gave it sympathy. As the sister Church gave allegiance to the North, so the Southern Church, in the same manner if not in like degree, upheld the Southern cause. When the war ended, the two Methodisms were at extremes—one shared with its government the fruits of victory, the other collapsed with a government in complete defeat. Many thought that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was disorganized beyond hope of reconstruction. The Methodist Episcopal Church regarded the absorption of the Southern Church as a laudable missionary enterprise.

Countless churches in the South had been burned, destroyed, or taken over for secular purposes. Some were put to good use as hospitals. Many were taken over by the Northern Church under

¹ Official Reports of the U. S. Surgeon General Barnes, cited by H.N.M., *A History of Methodism*, p. 664.

² Letter to the General Conference, May 18, 1864.

orders issued by the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, at the request of one of its Bishops, Edward R. Ames:

After the Federal forces had occupied large sections of Southern territory, Bishop Ames, with preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, followed the victorious army with an order procured from Secretary of War Stanton, and took forcible possession of Southern Methodist pulpits, even to the exclusion of ministers appointed by the Church authorities and desired by the congregation. These violent pastors held on after the war ceased, and had to be ousted ungracefully and reluctantly. The intruder placed in Carondelet Street Church, by Bishop Ames' order, was got out barely in time for the meeting of the General Conference in New Orleans (1866).³

As we have seen, the Publishing plant of the Church in Nashville was seized by the Federal army. The connectional organ, the *Nashville Advocate*, and all Annual Conference *Advocates* or journals were compelled to discontinue. The *Southern Advocate*, to which Holland wrote letters from Butler Lodge, first refugeed from Charleston to Augusta, Georgia, later to Macon, before folding up. Communication by travel was disrupted thus making the itinerancy ineffective and the assemblage of conferences impracticable. The General Conference of 1858 adjourned to meet in New Orleans in 1862, but the occupation of the city by Union forces under Admiral Farragut made it impossible to meet, even if the delegates could have found means to get there. As mentioned by McTyeire, it was barely possible to secure one of the expropriated churches for a General Conference in 1866. "The Annual Conferences met irregularly or in fragments."⁴ Bishop Soule, the senior Bishop and head of the Church, was old, feeble, and incapable of getting the bishops together. The following is a Yankee's account of the efforts to hold the Tennessee Annual Conference in 1864:

Visit to a Grayback Conference

Nashville, May 20—Early yesterday morning your correspondent, in plain citizens' dress, rode out to City Road Chapel, seven miles North of Nashville to attend the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

³ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 673. For a detailed account of this and other seizures of churches over the South, the reader should consult the recent account of Hunter Dickinson Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts* (The Dietz Press, Richmond, Va., 1938), pp. 23-27.

⁴ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 664.

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City Road Chapel—This is a dilapidated old frame church, standing in a pleasant grove opposite the residence of the venerable Bishop Soule. Around the church on the morning of the 19th, a few lean horses and mean looking carriages were collected.

The Conference—I entered the Conference room. Behold! There sat Joshua Soule and *thirteen preachers!* And this was the wealthy, proud, domineering Tennessee Annual Conference! Three years ago it mustered near two hundred ministers, and every one of them was a rebel. Lo! here are thirteen, and where are the others? Nearly all the Conference are in the South—many of them in the rebel army. Well, I sat there all day and listened to the graybacks, for nearly all the ministers were dressed in grayback cloth literally.

The names of the presiding elders were called, and it seemed that, with one or two exceptions, they had been south for near two years. But one presiding elder was present. Presiding Elder Ransom, of Columbia distict, was reported to be laboring in the Confederate Army. "He is a good man," someone remarked. "Yes, yes," was responded; and this was generally the response to absent members. . . .

Bishop Soule—The Bishop is eighty-three years old, and feeble, yet he spoke often and with clearness. He inherited from his New England mother a good mind and body. He has been for many years one of the lords of Methodism; but, sitting as I saw him yesterday, among a little squad of grayback preachers, he looked like an imprisoned lion. Referring to the order of the Secretary of War respecting rebel churches, he said: "It seems that the Secretary of War at Washington has become an archbishop and has been appointing preachers to churches in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." He said the Methodist preachers of Tennessee were never before so poor, and that they now can see the force of the injunction, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt and thieves break through and steal." As he said *thieves break through*, I thought he looked North with an expressive glance. "But my brethren," he added, "the Prophets and Apostles suffered before us." . . . He spoke of his colleagues [bishops] with deep emotion. "I have not had a word or line from my respected colleagues for eighteen months. I don't know whether they are dead or alive."

As the presiding elders had all gone South, an aged minister asked the Bishop whether he could not appoint elders to fill the districts until the others should resign or return. No he could not. . . . He regards their absence as excusable. The Bishop made a hard hit at the military authorities in Nashville. "I have been in Nashville," said he, "and I have seen churches turned into hospitals and barracks but not a single theatre."

Two men were ordained. The stations of the preachers, as made at Cornersville two years ago, with changes since made by P.E.'s, were confirmed by the Bishop, and they adjourned to meet a year hence, at Pulaski.*

This unvarnished, but doubtless accurate though unsympathetic report by an outsider, reveals the state to which the Annual

* Undated clipping from the *Cincinnati Gazette*, in scrapbook.

Conference had fallen in the central seat of the Church, and the frustration of its great leader and senior bishop.

More than any other Protestant sect, the Methodists had put money and effort into educational facilities. Over most of the devastated South, college endowments were swept away and plants abandoned.⁶

Before the war the Church had made a strong, effective, missionary effort in China, upon which a large debt had been incurred. The Chinese missionaries continued in the field, largely dependent upon their own resources, but they were cut off from contact with the home Board and, at war's end, the debt remained.⁷

The disruption of the administrative machinery and connectional contacts of the Church, left the ministry in dire confusion. They had no guidance and were often at a loss what to do. In the war, they were scattered to the four winds.

A large number became chaplains in the Confederate army. Others served as missionaries in the army, and a good number entered the army as commissioned officers or as privates. Some were forced to move as refugees before the advancing Federal forces.⁸

The Church suffered severe losses in its membership. As we have seen, there was rapid growth in the pre-war period. In 1846, at the first General Conference, 455,217 members were reported; in 1860, at the outbreak of the war, the number had grown to 749,068.⁹ Many of these were Negroes, who left en masse with emancipation. The loss of white members was slightly in excess of one hundred and thirteen thousand.¹⁰ The colored membership dropped from 207,766 to 78,742, going largely to two African Churches in the North and the Northern Methodist branch.¹¹

Naturally, the collections and funds of the Church were reduced more than a proportionate amount. The members who remained had suffered great adversity and many were completely

⁶ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 664.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 665.

⁸ Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁹ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 651.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 664.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 664.

impoverished. Large cities like Atlanta and Columbia, South Carolina, were in ashes. Vast numbers of people were without homes or means of livelihood. Worse than the destruction almost was the fact that means were not available for rehabilitation. The South had fallen and her position resembled Humpty-Dumpty—all the King's horses and all the King's men couldn't put her together again.

The *Christian Advocate* of New York (Northern Methodist) in its issue of March 16, 1865, just before the fall of the Confederacy, summarized the status of the Southern Church in this fashion:

So far as we can ascertain, most of its Conferences are virtually broken up, its circuit system is generally abandoned, its appointments without preachers to a great extent, and its local societies in utter confusion. Its Book Concern is overthrown; its Missionary Society, Sunday-School Union, and most of its other Church enterprises without power, if not without form. All has been submerged in the general wreck of the South.¹²

Let us return now to Holland McTyeire whom we left in the Alabama woods. As the Union armies continued their conquest eastward, sometime in 1863, Holland accepted a call from the Clay Street Methodist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, with a membership which is not recorded.¹³

Montgomery was an important location. It became the first capital of the Confederate States in February, 1861. Here the Articles of Secession were signed and here Jefferson Davis was inaugurated. The next year the Confederate capital was transferred to Richmond, Virginia, but Montgomery remained the capital of Alabama as it had been since 1845. Amelia's mother came up from Mobile and assisted in settling the family back in the city.

That year the Alabama Conference convened at Columbus, Mississippi, November 25th to December 2nd, 1863, and Bishop Andrew returned Holland to Clay Street in Montgomery where he had a membership of 250 white people.¹⁴ A year later, Holland

¹² Quoted by Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹³ Baskervill, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁴ Alabama Annual Conference Minutes, 1863, p. 515.

was again returned to Montgomery. During the month of August, 1865, he received a strange summons. He was invited to come to a session of the College of Bishops, which after a long interruption, had at last assembled in Columbus, Georgia.¹⁵ The bishops were confronted with an extreme emergency. They were considering whether the Southern Methodist Church could be continued as an independent group. If so, how could it be accomplished? There had been only one expression of faith in this possibility throughout the connection.

The first indication of this determination appeared early in June, 1865, in the form of the "*Palmyra Manifesto*." This document was the outgrowth of a "movement for the deliverance" of the Church, led by the Reverend Andrew Monroe, a patriarch of the denomination in Missouri.¹⁶

He issued a call for a meeting of the preachers and official members of the Southern Church within the bounds of the Missouri Conference at Palmyra on the twenty-second day of June, 1865. . . . Twenty-four preachers and about a dozen laymen responded. This body of men adopted a paper setting forth the necessity for the continued existence of the Southern Church. In form, it was a report of the Committee on the State of the Church, but in effect it was a sort of manifesto against those who wished to absorb Southern Methodism.¹⁷

The bishops, after conference with Holland, decided to issue a Pastoral Address to the entire Church which would be also a notice to the world, with a clarion call for a General Conference in New Orleans the coming year. They put upon McTyeire the task of preparing this Address to the Church.

Though not yet a Bishop, he [McTyeire] was, by invitation, present at the meeting of the College, in Columbus, Ga., in 1865. Under their direction he wrote an address to the Church, which was like the blast of a trumpet: the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, yet lived, and in all of its polity and principles was unchanged; neither disintegration or absorption was to be thought of, all rumors to the contrary notwithstanding; whatever banner had fallen, that of Southern Methodism was still unfurled; whatever cause had been lost, that of our Church still survived; and the General Conference was

¹⁵ The bishops were: Joshua Soule, Presiding or Senior Bishop, James O. Andrew, John Early, Hubbard H. Kavanaugh, Robert Paine, and George F. Pierce.

¹⁶ Lewis, W. H., *The History of Methodism in Missouri for a Decade of Years from 1860 to 1870* (Nashville, 1890), p. 173. See Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁷ Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

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summoned to meet in New Orleans, April, 1866, though its adjournment had occurred eight years before.¹⁸

The publication of this address aroused widespread criticism in the North and was even interpreted as "a design to foster treason against the Government."¹⁹

This reaction can be imagined, but it had no basis in fact. Individually, the members of the College of Bishops had issued pleas to their constituents urging loyalty and submission to the government, and the Address advised peaceful acceptance of the situation "as citizens of a common country," calling upon their members "to pray for all that are in authority."²⁰

The effect upon the South was electrifying and the result amazing. The Pastoral Address was not unlike the horn of Robin Hood which was wont to fill Sherwood Forest with countless yeomen in the twinkling of an eye.

The peeled and scattered hosts, discouraged and confused by adversities and adverse rumors, rallied; the Annual Conferences were well attended; and never did delegates meet in General Conference from center and remotest posts more enthusiastically; of one hundred and fifty-three elect, one hundred and forty-nine were present.²¹

Only the Christmas Conference which assembled in Lovely Land Chapel in 1784 could compare in significance with the post-war Conference of 1866; in the former, American Methodism was born, and in the latter, a great segment was to arise Phoenix-like from ashes and continue the unprecedented growth which had hitherto characterized it. This required constructive statesmanship of a high order and fundamental reorganization. Quite recently, a profound religious scholar pronounced the Conference "one of the most important in the history of Church councils in America."²² It has been called a "radical Conference." It was radical in that sweeping new policies were adopted to meet the demands of the time and rebuild the Church, but not in departure

¹⁸ Tigert, Jno. J., *A Voice from the South* (fraternal address), *Christian Advocate*, Nashville, May 13, 1892. The address of the Bishops may be found in *Appendix of Journal of General Conference*, 1866.

¹⁹ Farish, *ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²¹ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 666.

²² Farish, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

from orthodox standards of religious doctrines or practice. Whatever appraisal one may place upon it, most observers and commentators agree that no man played a more influential part in its deliberations and exerted greater leadership in the determination of its acts and policies than Holland McTyeire. Holland was then not forty-two years old but was serving his twenty-second year in the ministry.

The fifth General Conference of Southern Methodism was convened in the Carondelet Street Church at New Orleans, April 4, 1866. In the absence of Bishop Soule, too feeble to attend, Bishop Andrew was in the chair and Dr. Thomas O. Summers was elected secretary. Only ninety delegates answered the first roll call but the number swelled later to 149 of the 153 elected. Holland was among the delegates.

During 1864 the Alabama Conference was divided into a Northern and a Southern group, the Montgomery and the Mobile Conferences. Travel difficulties, no doubt, made this desirable if not necessary. The Montgomery Conference met at Tuskegee, December 7-13. Bishop Andrew returned Holland to Montgomery.²³ He was returned again to Montgomery at the Conference which assembled at Lowndesboro, Alabama, November 15-21. O. R. Blue presided in the absence of a bishop. Holland reported a membership of 296, all white members.²⁴ Holland was one of seven delegates elected to the General Conference.

One of the events of the opening session was the seating of a fine-looking delegation of Baltimore Methodists, who had taken the first opportunity of adhering to the Church, South, thus offsetting some losses in Northern Kentucky and East Tennessee. They withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1861 and maintained an independent existence until their session in Alexandria, Va., March, 1866, when this formal union was effected under Bishop Early, and delegates were elected. . . . The portion of the Baltimore Conference represented numbered 108 traveling preachers and 12,000 members.²⁵

To detail the actions of this prolific conclave which lasted an entire month is beyond our scope. We shall mention some of the

²³ Montgomery Annual Conference Minutes, 1864, p. 516.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, New Volume, p. 36.

²⁵ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 666.

more important results, notably those in which McTyeire took an active part. The *Daily Christian Advocate* contains several complete speeches he made and reports of debates in which he was engaged.

The most revolutionary action of the Conference, which happened also to be initiated and carried through by Holland, involved lay representation. Holland put it this way in his *History of Methodism*:

The great measure of 1866 was lay delegation. Its prostrate, almost collapsed condition required all available help the Church could command. A sentiment in favor of lay coöperation had been growing quietly for years. Once, only two questions were asked in Annual Conference: How many are in Society? Where are the preachers stationed this year? There was no business for laymen then. The schedule grew to embrace a wider range of topics and a larger care. By and by education, Sunday-schools and Sunday observance, religious publications and their dissemination, orphanage and widowhood, temperance, and Church extension, began to occupy much time in Annual and General Conferences, and the need of laymen was felt.²⁶

The agitation for lay representation had started as far back as 1830, when the Methodist Protestant Church was formed and lay representation set up at the outset, but it had been successfully withstood in every Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, from 1850 onward, though some effort was made to propitiate its advocates in that Conference by a concession of a partial character. A financial plan was adopted which provided for an optional use of a form of lay coöperation on all questions relating to the financial and secular interests of the Church.²⁷ The plan was extended in the Conference of 1858, to which Holland was a delegate. Apparently, this experiment of limited participation revealed its value and prepared the way for favorable consideration of full participation of the laity in the councils of the Church.

In sponsoring this progressive but critical legislation, Holland displayed a remarkable sense of legitimate strategy for which he became renowned in deliberative bodies. He introduced the subject under two separate items the advantage of which appears ob-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

²⁷ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1850, p. 215.

vious when one contemplates it *ex post facto*. Two decades later, the sponsor of the action thus described his tactics:

The original motion was in the form of two resolutions, simple and general, not embarrassed by particulars. The first was:

"RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this General Conference that lay representation be introduced into the Annual and the General Conferences." This was adopted by ninety-six yeas, forty-nine nays. The principle once admitted, even by a numerical majority, everything was gained. Men who were doubtful, or so indifferent to the new measure as to vote on the old side, saw that the Church could not well stand in that attitude on such a subject—excluding laymen on a minority expression of the ministry; and enough of them consented to waive their preferences on the final record to make a two-thirds majority.

A special committee, called for by the second resolution,²⁸ took the matter in hand, with instructions to arrange the details of a plan; which was adopted, ninety-seven yeas, forty-one nays. The measure having passed on to the Annual Conferences, obtained the requisite three-fourths vote, and laymen took their seats in the General Conference of 1870.²⁹

The plan permitted only four lay delegates to the Annual Conference, which is primarily an executive body; but, in the General Conference, the law-making body, the representation of clerical and lay delegates was made equal. Upon the result, Holland made this comment:

So ripe was public opinion, and so propitious the times, and so well digested the scheme, that this great change was introduced without heat or partisanship. Unstintedly, voluntarily, on their own motion, the ministry who had held this power from the beginning, divided it equally with their lay brethren. Their appearance in the chief council of the Church, and their influence, justified their introduction, even to those who had feared; a new power was developed, a new interest awakened, a new progress begun.³⁰

It is conservative to say that this single act at least doubled the potential vitality of the Church in available manpower, taking this term in all its implications. The actual body or corpus of the Church is composed of laymen among whom are some of the ablest in every walk of life—financiers, jurists, administrators, scholars, and others. It is difficult now to see how the Church made

²⁸ Holland was chairman of this committee, composed of one delegate from each Annual Conference, twenty-one in number. *Daily Christian Advocate*, 1866, p. 133.

²⁹ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 668.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 669.

substantial progress, when the membership was excluded from its councils.

After the adoption of the report of the Committee, McTyeire requested that a commission be appointed which would confer with a similar commission of the Methodist Protestant Church looking toward union, provided the Annual Conferences concurred in the action. As already stated, the Protestant Church had started in 1830 with lay representation. The Conference adopted the suggestion and a commission of five members, of which McTyeire was one, was appointed.³¹

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Methodist Episcopal Church followed the example of the Southern Church by admitting laymen as members of its General Conference which met in Brooklyn, New York, in 1872. This was regarded as the outstanding single step of progress in that Church in the decade following the Civil War. By coincidence, Bishop Matthew Simpson, who collaborated with Bishop McTyeire in organizing the first Methodist Ecumenical Conference, was one of the most active supporters of lay representation in the Northern group.³²

One of the amazing facts, in the long-delayed action of the Methodists in recognizing laymen, is that Methodism was born largely from lay influence and in the early days its preachers were mostly laymen, which became a primary reason for the necessity of a new Church, distinct from the Anglican Church.

Other measures of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of 1866 include in part:

(1) *The rigid requirement of six months attendance at Class-meeting as a prerequisite for church membership was abolished.*

About this Holland commented:

Class-meetings can never be too highly esteemed for the good they do and have done . . . but attendance on them ought not to be enforced with greater penalties than attendance on other means of grace. . . . Admission to Church-membership must be guarded with reasonable and conscientious care. Worldly minded material cannot build up a spiritual house; privileges lightly bestowed are lightly esteemed; and responsibilities incurred without being em-

³¹ *Daily Christian Advocate*, p. 211.

³² From *THE STORY OF METHODISM* by Luccock, Hutchinson and Goodloe. By permission of Abingdon Press, p. 370.

phatically understood are already in the way to be neglected, and always to the scandal of pure religion. Pastors are therefore required, when persons offer themselves for membership, to inquire into their spiritual condition, and to obtain satisfactory assurances of their religious experience and their purpose of conformity and consecration, before admitting them. This may be done at once, or it may be a month or a year before the candidate is brought before the congregation to take the vows.³³

(2) *The maximum period for a pastor's continuous service to one congregation was increased from two to four years.*

This step had been advocated by McTyeire for some years. In fact, a motion was actually passed by the Conference removing the time limit and making appointments annual, and repeated at the discretion of the appointing power, but this was revoked largely at the insistence of the bishops.³⁴

(3) *District Conferences were discussed and recommended but actual legislation awaited the next General Conference.*

The matter was debated and discussed throughout the session of the Conference more than any other subject under consideration. During the quadrennium following the Conference, however, district conferences came into general practice throughout the entire connection of the Southern Church. Upon these gatherings, Holland makes the following comments:

By the time the next General Conference [1870] took the matter in hand for definitely shaping it, this institute had shown admirable fitness for serving the Church to edification. This was not that District Conference which obtained from 1820 to 1836—confined to local preachers, and never popular or useful. It was rather a return to the earlier practice, when a yearly Conference was held by Bishop Asbury in every District. Simple in organization, and bringing together various elements of power within a range wide enough for variety and narrow enough for coöperation; promoting Christian fellowship; taking cognizance of a class of subjects which neither Annual nor Quarterly Conferences can so well handle; and bringing to bear upon given points, for days, the best preaching, where Christian hospitality and love-feasts and sacraments may be enjoyed—the District Conference fell at once into place.³⁵

(4) *A measure of necessary consideration and ultimate complete solution was the provision for a separate religious haven for*

³³ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 667; *Daily Christian Advocate*, 1866, pp. 185-187.

³⁴ This action was taken by a vote of 72 to 49, with Bishop McTyeire in the chair, *Journal of the General Conference*, 1866, p. 110.

³⁵ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 667-668.

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the large flock of Negroes who had now become freemen.

As will be readily realized by the reader who has followed Holland's interest and activities in behalf of an unfortunate and exploited people, this must have given him deep gratification. He served on the Committee on the *Religious Interests of Colored People*³⁶ which handled the whole question involving many details, but the Chairman of the Committee, James E. Evans of the Georgia Conference, naturally was the floor manager and spokesman.

In 1866 only a little more than seventy-five thousand Negroes remained in the Methodist Church, South, out of what had been more than two hundred thousand before emancipation. Most of the latter joined, as we have said, African churches, hitherto operating in the North, or transferred to the Northern Branch of Methodism.

Steps taken at New Orleans were to lead to an independent Church with its own circuits, districts, and Annual Conferences under a name later chosen by the Negroes themselves, "*The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America.*"³⁷

An important part of the action which we think should be emphasized is that the Conference "ordered that all Church property that had been acquired, held, and used for Methodist Negroes in the past be turned over to them by Quarterly Conferences and trustees."³⁸ The value of this property was estimated to be \$1,000,000.

As Holland McTyeire, with his usual modesty, passes over his part in the organization of the Negro Church by a brief reference in a footnote, we give an account by another and more recent historian of Methodism:

A step of far-reaching importance was the adoption of a measure looking to the setting up of the Negro membership of the Southern Church in a separate Church. Pursuant to this action, the General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America was organized at Jackson, Tennessee, December 16, 1870. William Henry Miles and Richard H. Vanderhorst were elected Bishops and they were consecrated by Bishop Robert Paine and

³⁶ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1866, p. 13.

³⁷ *Journals of the General Conference*, 1866, p. 73; 1870, p. 183.

³⁸ H.N.M., *op. cit.*, p. 671.

BISHOP HOLLAND NIMMONS MCTYEIRE

Bishop Holland N. McTyeire. After a sympathetic address filled with wisdom and a profound interest in the Negro race, Bishop Paine surrendered the chair to Bishop Miles, and the future guidance of the Church to the Bishops who had been elected and consecrated. Bishop McTyeire also delivered a valedictory message to the newly launched Church. The reply of Bishop Vanderhorst to the addresses of his white friends was touching and in every way worthy of the man. He said: "Brothers, say not good-bye; that is a hard word. Say it not. We love you and thank you for all you have done for us. But you must not leave us—never."³⁹

(5) *The Conference undertook to re-establish the missionary work of the Church which the war had disrupted.*

The most important step was the decision of the Conference to establish two Mission boards instead of the one that had served since 1846, when the Church was organized. One was designated as the Domestic Mission Board which was made responsible for all missionary efforts in the homeland. John B. McFerrin was elected secretary of the board. The other board was designated as the Foreign Mission Board, responsible for missionary enterprises outside the United States. E. W. Sehon was elected secretary.

The greatest obstacle in the effort to re-launch the missionary activities of the Church was a debt of \$60,000, \$35,000 of which had been incurred in China. The administrative set-up was determined, in a large degree, with the hope of finding a way to liquidate the indebtedness. This difficulty was overcome by distributing the payment of the debt among the Annual Conferences, in amounts varying from \$200 to the Indian Mission Conference up to \$4,500 each to the Mobile and Montgomery Conferences.⁴⁰

(6) *The Conference authorized the rehabilitation of the Publishing House in Nashville.*

Both the business and the plant were in a state of ruin on account of the war and the appropriation of the stock and the machinery for army uses. There was considerable debate as to whether the Church should undertake to rebuild its publishing business, or should have its printing done by contract.

³⁹ Duren, William Larkin, *The Trail of the Circuit Rider* (Chalmers' Printing House, New Orleans, 1936), pp. 303-304.

⁴⁰ *Daily Christian Advocate*, 1866, p. 121.

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It was finally decided to continue the House, and Dr. A. H. Redford of Kentucky was elected Publishing Agent.⁴¹

It will be recalled that Holland had taken an active part in the establishment of the Publishing House in Nashville as a delegate to the General Conference of 1854 at Columbus, Georgia, and was elected Editor of the Nashville *Christian Advocate* by the Conference of 1858 at Nashville. This brought him into the Publishing House during the next quadrennium. He took an active part in the plans for the restoration of the Publishing House and served on the *Committee on Books and Periodicals* which handled this item. Later, with others, he was active in pressing a claim against the United States government for damages incurred during the war. Some years after his death, the Church was compensated for its losses by an appropriation of nearly three hundred thousand dollars.

(7) *The Conference attempted to change the name of the Church.*

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, extended North beyond the Ohio River and West to the Pacific Ocean. Outside the Southern region, the qualification "South" in the name of the Church was a misnomer and distasteful. The Conference worked ceaselessly in an effort to cure this handicap.

Finally, on April 27th, shortly before adjournment, the Conference decreed by the necessary two-thirds of the delegates that the legal style and title of the Church should then and thereafter be "The Episcopal Methodist Church."⁴² The Annual Conferences failed to ratify this action. The Conference had been inconsistent in that it voted to remove the geographical limitations in the name but refused to change the boundaries fixed in 1844.

Although other acts of his historic Conference had an important bearing on the future, we shall pass over them, except for an account of the election of bishops which came in the closing days. Bishops Soule, Andrew, and Early, all aged and becoming infirm, were superannuated at their own request. This left only three ac-

⁴¹ Duren, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁴² *Journal of the General Conference*, 1866, p. 107.

tive bishops and the Conference decided to elect four others. In his *History of Methodism*, McTyeire discusses the occasion by mere mention of the four elected. In his private memorandum book, he records the events of the last few days of the Conference thus:

April 26th, Thurs. Four Bishops elected. First ballot (144 ballots) ⁴³ William Wightman 75 E. M. Marvin 75 Second ballot—no election Third ballot D. S. Doggett 80 H. N. McTyeire 75.

April 27th "Dovie"—Emma Jane Vass—nee Townsend, youngest and only surviving sister of Amelia, died in Mobile, after three days illness.

April 29th Consecration of the four Bishops elect. Sermon by L. Pierce.

May 2nd, Wed. Presided over General Conference for first time—opening evening session at 7 p.m.⁴⁴

A few more facts about the election are of interest. Other men who received considerable votes were J. B. McFerrin, E. W. Schon, J. C. Keener, and J. A. Duncan, but none of these received as many as fifty votes on any ballot. We have been told of McFerrin in our previous pages; Schon was elected Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board by this Conference; J. A. Duncan was to begin a fine service as President of Randolph-Macon two years later and his brother, W. W. Duncan, was destined to become Bishop, while Holland's dear friend and life-associate, Keener, was to be called to the episcopacy and a long period of distinguished service by the next General Conference.

William May Wightman, one of those elected, we have mentioned in relation to Cokesbury Institute. He was a South Carolinian, born in Charleston, sixteen years older than Holland. He was conspicuous chiefly for his work as an educator and editor.

Enoch Mather Marvin, another of the elect, a rugged and pure character from the West, born like Holland in a log cabin, was just a year his senior. He was a Missourian, descendent of a soldier of the Revolution who married a relative of Cotton Mather.

No introduction is needed here of David Seth Doggett, who had been chaplain and teacher at Randolph-Macon and who had greatly quickened Holland's religious experience and started him

⁴³ Seventy-three votes were needed for election.

⁴⁴ H.N.M., *Memorandum Book*, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tenn.



HOLLAND N. McTYEIRE, age 42, at
the time of his election as Bishop



BISHOP McTYEIRE
(Photo taken shortly before his death)



MRS. HOLLAND NIMMONS McTYEIRE
(nee Amelia Townsend)



Methodist Church at Columbus, Mississippi, where McTyeire was pastor in 1848, shortly after his marriage. (Photo taken in 1944)



MRS. ROBERT L. CRAWFORD (nee Martha Everitt, mother of Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt) in 1892, at age 72.



Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt (nee Frank Crawford)



McTyeire home on Vanderbilt campus. Bench at far right, Bishop's favorite place for meditation

on his ministerial career. He sprang from Revolutionary forebears and Methodist parents, an eloquent and effective preacher, but handicapped in the episcopal office to which he was called by poor health.

The manner in which Holland discharged the duties of the office of a bishop of his Church will unfold with our narrative. We turn now to his personal and intimate thoughts as revealed by private letters during the eventful days of the Conference. He found time, in spite of his absorbing activity in the Conference, for contacts with old acquaintances in the city. "I dine out every day, and sometimes breakfast out too, and so am getting around among old friends. Many of them are doing their own house work—even the ones formerly wealthy and in business. But this is so common, they take it cheerfully," he wrote Mrs. Townsend, making mention of a dozen or more of acquaintances and their circumstances.⁴⁵

His election, which came unexpectedly and unsought, largely as a result of his leadership in the Conference, and the sudden death of his wife's greatly beloved sister, Mrs. Emma Jane Vass (called "Dovie" in the family) on the day after the election, are touched upon in a solemn but well-composed letter on the eve of his ordination.

Holland and his oldest child, Mary, then eighteen years old, were staying with their family physician, Dr. Austin. The shocking news of his wife's sister's death came like a bolt out of the blue on the Conference floor. She had been ill only three days and Holland had not heard of it. He wrote immediately to the bereaved mother, Mrs. Townsend, from which we quote:

It is hard to realize it! Besides a sympathy in your overwhelming sorrow and calamity, and in Amelia's—I have a deep and painful grief of my own, at the unlooked for event. I think of you saying, "My burden is heavier than I can bear." May He who gives children and takes them away help you to bear it. . . . I have not told Mary, yet. She with all the family of Dr. Austin were just starting for the picnic, or the festival which the ladies of the Churches here have given today to the members and the visitors of the General Conference. They adjourned at 1½ p.m. and went out. I had no

⁴⁵ Letter dated April 28, 1866.

heart for it, came to my room, and am spending the evening here, and quietly, as my feelings desire.

Tomorrow, at 11 a.m. in Carondelet St. Church, after sermon by Dr. Lovick Pierce, the consecration of the four bishops, elected two days ago, takes place. Rev. Mr. Marvin, of Missouri, but lately of Texas, arrived yesterday—and thus, the four are here. He was absent, up to yesterday. An event that might perhaps have given you some pleasure, and to Amelia also, is thus darkly clouded. Such is life. As for myself—the expression of such and so large a body, representing the Church in the South, is felt to be highly gratifying. But, another feeling, since the hour of election, is overshadowing that—the *responsibility*.

This concurring with so great a sorrow befalling us at this time leaves me in no doubt as to the prevailing sentiment of my mind. It is one not only of solemnity, but of *sadness*. I may say freely to you, that since the first intimation reached me that any considerable number of my brethren thought of me in connection with the events of tomorrow, I have carefully and conscientiously abstained from any word or act that might have been specially conciliatory or suggestive in that direction to any one. If this lot *should* fall on me—an event not calculated on—I desired it should clearly be not of my own procuring, in any sense or in any degree. Thus I went along, up to the hour of election, as though no election was coming on. In calling me to preach, the Lord dealt with me, directly and by His Spirit; and very mercifully, where the trace of the right path was purely mental and moral. He made the way of duty plain before me. But in such cases, we must wait for God's call through the indications of His Providence and His Church. The voice of His Church—unsolicited, unsuggested, uninfluenced by any interfering act of mine—should be to me the voice of God. That such has been my way—O Lord, thou knowest. Therefore, when on tomorrow, I stand with the others who have received this ministry and the question is propounded to me—"Are you persuaded that you are truly called to this ministration, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ?" What else can I say than—"I am so persuaded." ⁴⁶

In concluding the story of the post-war Conference, subsequent appraisals of the contribution made by Holland McTyeire and the significance of this gathering are numerous, but only two are offered from among the most competent sources.

Concerning Holland's part, another stalwart figure in the building of the Church, and later one of her ablest bishops, more than two decades later, wrote:

The South was prostrate and the Church disorganized. The membership had been reduced to a little over 400,000; everybody was discouraged; and no one could tell just what course it was best to pursue. Bishop McTyeire, however, was not long in finding solid ground on which to stand; and to him as much as any mortal man is due the phenomenal growth which has brought

⁴⁶ H.N.M., to Jane Townsend, April 28, 1866.

MCTYEIRE ASSUMES LEADERSHIP IN THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA

the actual number of communicants up to 1,200,000, an increase of 200 percent in a little over 22 years. It is not saying too much to affirm that he must be ranked with the very greatest Bishops of his church.⁴⁷

As an evaluation of the results of the Conference, we quote from a standard work of Methodist History:

The close of the Civil War saw the machinery of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in chaos. But there was a spirit remaining which quickly brought order. The bishops who had survived the war called for the meeting of the Southern General Conference at the regular time, in 1866, at New Orleans. And the quality of daring and determination which was shown when the delegates gathered there gave the church a new lease on life. When one regards the wonderful career which has been made possible for the Southern Church because of the boldness of the New Orleans decisions, one wishes that other churches might more frequently be backed against a wall and made to feel that they were fighting for their lives, as the Southern church then felt. In a crisis, such as those delegates faced, the only possible course was to take a great venture of faith into untried and untrodden ways. But the leap of faith proved to be the way of salvation.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Hoss, E. E., *Arkansas Methodist*, February 20, 1889.

⁴⁸ From *THE STORY OF METHODISM* by Luccock, Hutchinson, and Goodloe. By permission of Abingdon Press, p. 344.

CHAPTER XI

HOLLAND ENTERS UPON HIS ACTIVITIES AS A BISHOP

THE ordination of the four bishops, elected by the General Conference of 1866, is thus described:

The Ordination of William May Wightman, Enoch Mather Marvin, David Seth Doggett, and Holland Nimmons McTyeire, as Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, took place in the Carondelet Street Church, New Orleans, on Sunday, April 29, 1866.

The Ordination Sermon was preached by the venerable Lovick Pierce, on 2 *Corinthians* xi, 28. The Collect was read by Bishop Andrew, the Epistle by Bishop Paine, and the Gospel by Bishop Early.

W. M. Wightman was presented by Thomas O. Summers and H.A.C. Walker; E.M. Marvin by A. Monroe and W.M. Rush; D.S. Doggett by L.M. Lee and N. Head; and H.N. McTyeire by J.C. Keener and O.R. Blue.

Bishop Andrew proceeded with the service—all the Bishops united in the laying on of hands. The two elders presenting assisted in the case of the Bishops elect severally presented by them. The service following the presentation of the Bible was performed by Bishops Kavanaugh and Pierce.¹

John Christian Keener had been Holland's co-worker for years but who was O. R. Blue? He was an Alabamian, "who was so prominently identified with the Church in his native State that a biographer could say, 'The record of his life would be a history of Methodism in Alabama for full fifty years.' Bishop McTyeire regarded him as the ablest debater he had ever seen on a Conference floor. In the absence of bishops, he was twice elected President of his Conference. By the votes of his brethren he was seven times successively designated to sit in the General Conference." ²

Holland had been regarded as "episcopal timber," to use a phrase of Methodist parlance, some years before his election. Of a meeting of Bishops and other leaders in the critical year of 1862, in which he took part, one of those who attended said:

At that time McTyeire impressed me as a man of superlative ability. It

¹ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1866, p. 87.

² DuBose, H. M., *op. cit.*, p. 100.

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was not until 1866 that he was episcopally ordained, but by every token, except the technical laying on of hands, he was then as much an episcopus as though he had been consecrated by His Grace of York or Canterbury.³

The summons of the College of Bishops to Columbus, Georgia, in 1865, in the hour of dire perplexity, is an evidence of the confidence and hope which continued to increase and was prophetic, just on the eve of the coming General Conference. Therefore, it is not remarkable that some of his colleagues regarded his selection as something for which he was foreordained, as it were. Another writer has selected some sample expressions to reinforce his own:

Thus it was that Holland Nimmons McTyeire, not quite forty-two, reached the estate for which he seemed perfectly suited. It has been stated that he was elected Bishop because the other ministers feared his ability as a debater on the floor of a Conference, but that is unlikely. For nearly twenty-three years he had labored so successfully to build up the Church that its membership was tripled. He said it was a "time for building Nehemiahs rather than weeping Jeremiahs."

He had a constructive genius that rivalled that of Bishop McKendree, and a capacity for executive functions that made him the equal of . . . Bishop Soule.⁴ . . . He seemed to have been born to command, and to have realized this capacity to control his fellow men.⁵ . . . No man seemed better suited for filling out all the lines of an ideal general superintendent, and he did fill them out as if especially designed for this difficult, delicate, and responsible office.⁶

To the above, we add some sentiments expressed concerning Holland's capacity as a presiding officer and parliamentarian, so essential to his success as a bishop:

From his ordination he was considered the great parliamentarian of the Church, and those best capable of judging considered him an ecclesiastical statesman.⁷ . . . As President of a legislative or popular assembly, he had consummate skill and tact. "Parliamentary law incarnate," said a prominent politician, after watching him preside a single day.⁸

On Wednesday evening, May 2, Bishop McTyeire presided for

³ "W.J.S.", *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, Macon, Ga., June 15, 1889.

⁴ Hoss, *op. cit.*

⁵ *Journal of General Conference*, 1890, p. 78.

⁶ Keener, *op. cit.* This excerpt, with citations, taken from Moorman, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

⁷ Smith, Charles Forster, *Reminiscences and Sketches*, 1908, pp. 23-24.

⁸ *Weekly American*, Nashville, Tenn., February 19, 1889.

the first time over the General Conference. No complications arose. The evening was consumed in routine reports of committees. One item affected Holland personally, the salary of Bishops was fixed at \$3,000 annually for the next quadrennium and each Conference was directed to pay travelling expenses of the Bishop submitted in discharge of duties in its behalf.⁹

Holland's duties as a General Superintendent included, naturally, a wide range of administrative and educational as well as religious functions. He was destined, in the years ahead, to become one of the chief architects of a Church in process of building. The mantle which dropped from McKendree upon Soule was soon to fall upon McTyeire. Soule had written the first document that served as a Constitution for the Southern Methodist Church. Lay representation placed in the polity of the Church by Holland's leadership, was the first important addition. Others were to follow.

He continued the prodigious travel of earlier leaders, but with the greater advantage of more by railroad and ship and less by horse. He was engaged, going and coming incessantly, throughout all parts of the Church on the American continent, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To this were added journeys to Mexico, Canada, England, and Europe. His activities became complex and numerous.

Under the changed conditions, we shall not find it possible at all times to unfold his life in chronological order in successive geographical locations as we have done up to this point. Rather, we must undertake to describe representative activities and important enterprises with sufficient detail for some kind of evaluation of results by the reader. We shall hope to give clear insight into the Bishop's private life and a sound basis for understanding his character. For this we shall continue to rely upon authenticated sources and his own writings and utterances.

The beginning of Holland McTyeire's episcopal career has been thus described: "It was now that we began to find what manner of man he was. The big vessel had gotten out to sea. The

⁹ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1866, pp. 110-111.

great engines of head and heart began to move. The whole Church felt the new impetus." ¹⁰

Certainly, he came upon the scene when the Southern Methodist Church desperately required new leadership both because of losses it had sustained and the vastness of its needs after the disasters of the war. Three great bishops had been superannuated and the problems of reconstruction were hardly less challenging than those which existed in the war. Historians agree that the post-bellum era was, in some ways, more trying for the South than the actual period of combat. The devastation and destruction, the loss of the flower of its manhood, the reduction of the South to the status of a conquered province and other ills—all are well known. These need not be detailed here but the predicament of the Southern Methodist Church may not be so well appreciated. It is something one would gladly forget and we recall it only briefly at this point, in order that the task which faced the leaders of the Southern Methodists can be more fully comprehended. We have told the story of the attempt of the Northern Church to take over the properties of the Southern Church and absorb it during the war. Before that, it will be recalled, the Northern Church was compelled by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to live up to the plan of separation, amicably agreed upon in 1844, whereby each segment of the Church was entitled to become independent, operate its own activities, and have possession of all properties held by it at the time of division.

Church relations between North and South after the war were a reflection of the larger sectional issues and the recognized bitterness of the reconstruction era. Politically, the climax came in the impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson. Religiously, Northern Methodism undertook to replace the Southern Church in its historical domination of the South. It is painful to recall, especially when the Methodists are now so fortunately reunited, that intolerance should have invaded them. But, it may be said, even this could not compare with the bloody struggles which at times other sects have waged elsewhere. One quotation

¹⁰ Hammon, John D., *Western Advocate*, San Francisco, February 27, 1889.

from the New York *Christian Advocate* in 1879, when much of the bitterness had subsided and the Ecumenical Conference was shortly to be consummated, will reveal the attitude of the central organ of the Northern Church toward the South:

We claim the South, because the Republic which we have recently saved by Methodist conscience and Methodist bayonets, now demands at our hands another salvation by Methodist ideas and faith. Nothing is gained by shutting our eyes to the fact, that the preservation of the Union and the reign of moral law all over the South depends more upon what is done by our Church, with its nation-wide extent and its millions of adherents, than upon any other force in the field. Born with the Republic, the Methodist Episcopal Church has become the guardian of American liberties.¹¹

Confronted with this philosophy, it was indeed almost magical that Holland McTyeire, as the leader of the Southern Church, could collaborate with Matthew Simpson, leader of the Northern Church, in the organization of the first Ecumenical Conference of Methodists of which Bishop Simpson became the President and Bishop McTyeire the Vice-President of the Western Section. This we saw, in our first chapter, was the culmination of long negotiation and consideration.

With the adjournment of the General Conference in New Orleans, Bishop McTyeire found himself badly in need of some respite. The next few months furnished an inter-regnum, in which he readjusted some of his private affairs, before the incidence of heavy episcopal duties. The account of some of this is found in his private memorandum book.¹² He records that the Conference adjourned at 2 p.m. but that he missed his boat to Mobile by ten minutes. He took the mail-boat *Louisa*, the next afternoon, May 4, and after a night's ride was at the Townsend home in Mobile early next morning. There he found his wife, his son John, and his daughter Amelia, "Milly" he called her. "Desolate house" is his laconic entry. Mrs. McTyeire's sister had been buried a few days before in Magnolia Cemetery near his fourth child, Holland. Next day John started home, the Bishop called upon some sick folk in the afternoon and, later with his wife, visited Dovie's

¹¹ Farish, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

¹² Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

grave. The Townsend grave yard was attractive, surrounded by an iron grill fence and planted with magnolia, oleander, and myrtle.¹³ Here rest the remains of John W. Townsend and his wife. A few days later, the McTyeires returned to their home in Montgomery bringing with them a Negro servant, Nellie, who remained with Mrs. McTyeire until the latter's death. The writer well remembers Nellie as the favorite cook of his boyhood.

Holland writes of a visit to "his farm," Butler Lodge, on May 18, "first time since Apr. 2nd." The following Sunday, May 20, he records, "Preached in my church at 11 a.m.—good congregation. (Eph. 2:12). In p.m. visited prisoners in jail, talked, read, sang and prayed with them." He made a habit of visiting people in jail as evidenced by some other references of this kind. On July 10, he "attended Board of Trustees, Auburn College, morning and afternoon sessions." At that time Methodist, Auburn College is now the State-owned Alabama Polytechnic Institute. Throughout his life, education remained second only to religion in Holland's interest.

He writes that Cyrus came up to Montgomery to build a corn house. When the McTyeires left Butler Lodge and Holland took the pastorate in Montgomery, Uncle Cy and his family were left on a farm. In the Uncle Cy letter, already mentioned, Holland wrote:

Out of what was left when emancipation came I gave him forty acres of land, (not a mule) but a yoke of steers, a cow and a calf, and his tools. He soon fixed up a snug home; and what with working at his craft, and a little farming, and such annual stipend as I could send him in money, these last dozen years, he made out to finish his pilgrimage tolerably well.

His "old Marster" kept in constant communication, visited him when he could, and sent clothes and many other useful things in addition to the money mentioned. Credit was established for him in Greenville so that he could secure provisions at Holland's expense in hard times and emergencies. To this we will return. When Holland made visits, Uncle Cy always met his train at Greenville and drove him the twenty miles to Butler Lodge.

¹³ The plan is set out with a pencil by H.N.M. in one of his sermon books. When the author visited the cemetery in 1951, the plantings and markers had disappeared.

In Holland's book are entries of visits in the next months to Mobile, Hatchachubbee, his brother's home, and Glennville, where he spent the night at the College with Dr. Evans, the President. Officially, Holland attended a few district conferences. It will be remembered that the General Conference had given major attention to this unit in the Methodist machinery, had recommended it, but had been unable to agree upon legislation which would guide its work. Holland began to exercise his leadership in giving form and function to these bodies in a direction that was reminiscent of the practices of Bishop Asbury.

By October, Bishop McTyeire started his round of annual conferences. These are the principal executive bodies of the Methodist Church. The entire connection is divided and covered by these, including the mission fields. They take the names of states, rivers, cities, and missions. Each bishop is given a schedule of these conferences, the assignments changing from year to year. Thus, unlike bishops in other churches, the Methodist bishop does not have a permanent location but, like the ministers, is an itinerant. He is a circuit rider over the entire Church. At the conferences, reports on membership, finances, buildings, Sunday schools, missions, and other activities are made. Discussions lead to plans and programs of improvement, and the Conference culminates by the appointment of district superintendents and pastors, and by the ordination of deacons and elders, by the bishop. The great event of the Conference, traditionally, is a climactic sermon by the bishop. These occasions are marked often by great religious fervor and a bishop is gauged largely by the effectiveness of his preaching at Conference. This was eminently true in Holland's time.

The first annual conference over which Bishop McTyeire presided was the Holston Conference which convened October 10-17, 1866, at Asheville, North Carolina. He had made a favorable impression at this Conference when he appeared as Editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate* at Chattanooga in 1858. The next year, he preached with extraordinary power to the same Conference. As a rule, he was more effective after his first appearance before a Conference. Other Conferences, where Bishop McTyeire

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presided in the year 1866, were the Tennessee Conference, at Huntsville, Alabama, October 24-30, the Georgia Conference at Americus, Georgia, November 28-December 5, and the Florida Conference at Quincy, Florida, December 13-15. Apparently, his handling of these met with satisfaction, judging from the minutes and without specific information from other sources.

The death of Bishop Soule on March 6, 1867, removed the most eminent historical figure of the Church. He had been incapable of discharging any duties for some time but his wise counsel was now lost. He had written the first constitution of the Church and had led in the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The memorial sermon, preached at Nashville by Holland and repeated a few days later at Louisville, was in part an interpretation of Methodist constitutional history. In 1808, twenty-four years after its organization, the Church was without ecclesiastical form. The General Conference, composed of the traveling elders (ministers) had no definition and no limitation of powers. Every session was merely like a convention in which the whole system, even the doctrines, were subject to precipitate change by mere majorities. There was no basis of regional representation, so that difficulties of travel gave an annual conference in whose area the general conference convened, a disproportionate influence upon its decisions. Furthermore, the body of elders made an unwieldy group. A delegated General Conference, with a clear expression of its functions and powers, was greatly needed. Incredible though it may seem, Bishop Asbury had traveled nearly three hundred thousand miles, mostly on horse-back; evangelizing, organizing, and laying the foundations of Methodism. He had no time to develop a constitutional form of government. The Methodist movement had been launched and grew around his solitary personality. He wanted to see a definite, impersonal government set up before he died.¹⁴

In the General Conference of 1808, a Constitution was adopted as drafted by Joshua Soule:

¹⁴ H.N.M., *Passing Through the Gates* (Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, Nashville, 1890), p. 88.

It is a fact giving us a gauge to the man that he was one of that carefully selected committee of fourteen [two from each Annual Conference]; that he was one of the sub-committee of three, to which its business was turned over for shape and suggestion; and that he was the author of that organic chapter in our Discipline, *Of The General Conference*, at the age of twenty-seven.¹⁵

In the following General Conference other constitutional issues were agitated and settled:

The plan of electing presiding elders by the Annual Conferences, and making them a council to fix appointments—the Bishop being little more than moderator of the council—was favored by many and prominent men in the ministry and laity. . . Mr. Soule's theory was that the presiding elders were, in their *executive* character, the officers and vice-gerents of the Bishop, and that the Bishop must have the untrammelled selection of his staff. As *preachers*, our itinerant system could no more allow the Annual Conference to give the presiding elders their appointed fields of labor than to the circuit-preachers theirs. Under such administration he held that the Episcopacy and itinerancy would both break down. . . In 1816 Mr. Soule took a prominent part in the discussion. The friends of this specious measure happily did not succeed, and to him is attributed its defeat. Bishop Asbury looked to him, and now leaned on him to uphold his constitutional conservative policy.¹⁶

In the General Conference of 1820, Soule was elected Bishop by a large majority. Later the presiding-elder issue arose. His position before his colleagues was such that he could not participate in debate and the measure was carried by an overwhelming vote. Soule emphatically declined ordination as a Bishop. McKendree protested the action of the Conference as unconstitutional, and the Conference voted to suspend the operation of the new rule for four years. Great pressure was exerted to have Soule withdraw his refusal of consecration but to no avail. In 1824 he was re-elected Bishop. The presiding-elder issue had died out and he accepted ordination.

No doubt his unyielding advocacy of our executive system of 1820, and his firm stand then made, saved it; and in saving it, clearly and without compromise, the working energy and evangelism of the whole Church were maintained.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

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In the Conference of 1844, in which the Church divided, Bishop Soule faced the supreme test of his life. He was the most influential personage in the Church at that time. Born in Maine, he was completely a northern product. He used all his persuasive powers to forestall division but his sense of justice and law led him to revolt against expulsion of Bishop Andrew without trial. When division came, Soule joined the Southerners and became the leader in establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He transferred his residence to Nashville and carried on his fruitful labors until time conquered him. Bishop McTyeire was at his bedside when the end came and described his last illness:

Bishop Soule was attacked with dysentery on Saturday, the 2d of March. On Tuesday following he sunk fast. Often he asked what time it was, and reading the time from the face of the old silver watch that hung at the head of his bed, and which he had worn so long it seemed a part of him, we reported it.¹⁸ "Do you feel any pain?" "None at all"; until about the turn of night, when he answered, "Not much." . . . About one o'clock he seemed to be passing under the cloud and disappearing; I said, "Is all right, still?" Then for the last time did he throw that peculiar emphasis upon his words, "All right, sir; all right."

At intervals we gave him water, which he swallowed with an appearance of thirst. Soon after drinking it, about two o'clock, when his voice, though feeble, was distinct, seeing him cross his hands on his breast, I asked, "Are you praying?" He replied, "Not now," and never spake more.

I was surprised at these words; they were not what I expected, for I knew he understood me and meant what he said. But as I looked at him lying there and thought on the words "not now," they began to appear right, very right. His work was done; the night had come when no man can work. He was quiescent. The servant who has loitered away the day, begins to be very busy when the shadows lengthen. There is such a thing as having nothing to do but to die. Woe to the man who has his praying to do and his dying at the same time! He that believeth shall not make haste. Not praying now; that was done with, and the time for praising would soon set in. Like a ship, brave and staunch, that has weathered the storms and buffeted the waves—the voyage is ended; and as it nears the land the busy wheels cease their revolutions, and under the headway and momentum previously acquired it glides into port.

The change came. The family were called in and stood around as the silver cord was loosed, without a struggle or groan or the appearance of any pain. He had put off this tabernacle! Absent from the body—present with the Lord!¹⁹

¹⁸ This watch is now in the possession of the author.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-102.

CHAPTER XII

McTYEIRE RETURNS TO NASHVILLE TO CONTINUE EPISCOPAL DUTIES

ACCORDING to an entry in one of Bishop McTyeire's sermon books,¹ the McTyeire family left Montgomery in January, 1867, and returned to Nashville whence they had been compelled to retreat five years before, when the Union army occupied the city. Holland had left as an editor but returned as a bishop. He had played a leading role in establishing Nashville as the administrative and publishing center of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and it was natural that, as a leader in the rebuilding of the Church after the havoc of war, in which the Publishing House was disrupted, he would return. The Methodists had built an Episcopal residence on the same lot with the original McKendree Church, in the heart of the business section, at what was then Number 28, South High Street, now Sixth Avenue. This house, the former residence of Bishop Soule, was now assigned to Bishop McTyeire. We have a rather uninviting picture of the house and its bleak occupation, drawn by Emma Jane, later Mrs. Baskervill, who was only five years old at the time but a vivid writer in after years. The intimate details which she recalls, as she confesses, must have come to her in part from tradition as well as by recollection.

One blustering dark night we were all landed there—an omnibus full of us—six children, besides Aunt Betsey, whose attachment to the family had brought her with us, as well as her two children, Charles and Fannie, who also formed part of the household. All three assumed the family name; Charles, to his mother's great satisfaction, becoming later the Rev. Charles McTyeire, for many years a member of the Alabama Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . Separated from the adjoining house by a wall of solid brick, and darkened by long, rambling porches on the other side, most of the rooms in the old High-Street house were rather cheerless. My father's study, in particular, I recall, was so dimly lighted that the figure of him working at his desk by day as well as by night, with the assistance of an Argand burner, was a familiar sight. The bookshelves in

¹ Sermon Book II, p. 52.

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this room were a rather amusing example of his desire to obtain the substantial effect at the expense of the decorative. . . . In the study, family prayers were conducted with never-failing regularity, each member of the household being provided with a copy of the Bible, from which verses were read in rotation. To this day, I shudder to think of the embarrassment with which some of the younger members of the household encountered such difficult passages as the salutations of St. Paul to "Asyncritus, Phlegon, Andronicus, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Philologus, and them of Aristobulus's household!" At the evening hour, my father conducted the reading alone, not infrequently surprising us, when next we assembled, by testing our attention with questions concerning what had been read by him the night before. . . . Attendance upon Sunday School, the morning and evening services, the weekly prayer meeting, and all the ordinances of the Church, was, as far as possible, strictly observed.²

Mrs. Baskervill recalls attending an old-fashioned, Methodist watch-night meeting. As the bells tolled the departing year, all were on their knees in prayer but she could not resist the temptation to keep one eye open, "like the old woman who crossed the equator, hoping at least to see the shadow of it!"

The one ornamental room in the Bishop's house, Mrs. Baskervill thought, was the front parlor, typical of that day:

With its carpet of brilliant hue, garlanded with impossible flowers; the plain mantel adorned with a gilt-framed mirror, and broad china vases gaily decorated with morning-glories and hollyhocks out of all proportion to the small bisque figures that upheld them. No member of the family ever questioned the beauty of this room, yet, had it not been for the sobering effect of the prim-looking black hair furniture, surely the reflection of the sunlight, as it came sifted through crimson shades, would have been enough to cause sensitive eyes to blink. . . .

The remainder of the house must have suffered by comparison with the furnishings of this room, as I recall my mother's look of injured sensitiveness when, on one occasion, a rather brusque guest impatiently exclaimed, "I'll break my neck yet over those old carpets!" As I look back upon it, the High-Street house, with its crowded room space and utter lack of convenience, must have been a rather dismal-looking affair; but it was the home of innocence and peace; the early dwelling place of a family circle as yet, and till yet in my memory, unbroken. At the sight of such a spot the heart must ever be strangely stirred. "A consecration has come upon the place, that is not of the things that fail."³

The picture of the Bishop's house must be contemplated in the light of the aftermath of war, the poverty and want which were

² Baskervill, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

visited upon the once luxurious homes of the South. Many who had enjoyed wealth and high position with numerous servants were now short of the actual necessities of life and doing their own work. Some were forced to move to new places in search for fresh opportunities. Of the latter, a number moved into the North seeking a decent survival from the wretched circumstances to which they had been reduced. Naturally, the friends and relations of the McTyeires did not escape. Holland's former parishioners in Mobile and New Orleans suffered their share of misfortune. As he traveled about, Holland wrote his wife about many of these economic casualties. He was frequently shocked at the changed status of formerly affluent friends. The Crawfords, who had been great civic and religious leaders in Mobile, and who had built the Methodist chapel at Toulminville, went to New York to start life again. The plight of the Church and its personnel can easily be imagined. The ministry was troubled with insecurity and a clouded future. The shadows fell upon those in high places. A most distressing case for Holland was his old friend, Bishop Andrew, who will be remembered as the man who fashioned Holland's early ministry. He had admitted Holland on trial and assigned him to important stations as a young preacher. The year that Holland entered upon his duties, this staunch friend became the cause of disruption of the Church, by circumstances which he did not foster and whose effects he could not avert. His last days were spent almost in want and his pride must have been severely wounded, though his faith in the Church and in God remained undiminished. In declining health, Bishop Andrew wrote Holland, August 27, 1866:

I have had a good deal sickness [sic] in my family in the spring and early summer but thankful to God we are all up again and able to eat our allowance when we can get it but our prospects are not very bright in that department as you may grasp when I tell you that I have received for my support for the year \$70 so I have to borrow money or purchase my supplies on credit. . . . I think the money is sure in the end but what to do in the meantime. I know the times are hard and I sympathize with both preachers and the people but then I shall be greatly obliged for an occasional lift. . . . I have an abiding trust in God that all will be well. God rules and in this conviction I rest. I feel that it is ours to rest on him who loved me and gave

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himself for me. I often enjoy sweet communion with him and looking forward to a glorious home hereafter.

Subsequent letters reveal the slow but steady decline of the devoted servant of God. The last call, which the good man coveted, was answered in due time, and has been eloquently described:

On March 2, 1871, Bishop James O. Andrew died at Mobile, Alabama. His going removed from the Church, South, a man of stainless soul, upon whose head the passions and prejudices of church and state had beaten with ceaseless fury for more than a quarter of a century. On the twenty-second of April following, Rev. Alfred Griffith, the author of the original resolution at the General Conference of 1844, asking Bishop Andrew to resign his office, died at Alexandria, Virginia, in the eighty eighth year of his age. Thus two men who came into prominence in the most tragic arena of Methodist history had almost a common summons to stand in the presence of Him who both loved and served, but neither of whom, in all probability, understood the other.⁴

The story of twenty-three years of episcopal service which Holland McTyeire rendered his Church could not be adequately surveyed in several volumes. We must glimpse in its overall aspect, with selected events of importance. In summary, his activities included: general, annual, and district conferences; meetings of the College of Bishops; dedications of various kinds; participation in the programs of countless organizations within and without the Church; messenger to other churches; continuous preaching and writing; and other miscellaneous duties too many to catalogue.

The confines of the Church included the Southern region, extended by emigration and organization north into Indiana and Illinois, west to the Pacific, and northwest to Washington Territory. Foreign missions included, for the most part, activities in China, Japan, Brazil, and Mexico. Domestic missions to the Negroes ceased after the Civil War but continued among Indians and German settlers in the Southwest. Holland gave much attention to missionary enterprises. He introduced a resolution in the General Conference of 1858, before he became a bishop, which proposed a missionary effort along the Rio Grande river.⁵ The work,

⁴ Duren, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

⁵ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1858, p. 404.

established later in Mexico, grew so rapidly that, in 1885, there were two conferences created to meet urgent needs; the Mexican Border Conference, and the Central Mexican Mission. The former was organized by Holland at San Antonio, Texas, October 29, 1885, with twelve churches and over thirteen hundred members.⁶ This was the only foreign mission conference over which he presided but, during the last five years of his service as Senior Bishop, the complicated and baffling administrative and financial problems of the foreign missions fell upon him. Incidentally, the Methodist School in China, which turned out some distinguished graduates, was named "McTyeire." Of this, we shall write later.

During the years in which Holland was engaged in travel, which is beyond present calculation, he was occupied with other projects, some of which would have required all the time of an ordinary man. In his letters, the Church publications, and numerous books are recorded the incidents of ceaseless activity and changing scenes. His visits and contributions to the conferences of his Church were, of course, his major responsibility. We have seen something of the parts he played as a young preacher in the General Conferences of 1854 and 1858. One chapter was hardly sufficient to briefly outline his work in the post-bellum Conference of 1866. His leadership in the reconstruction of the Church lifted him to its supreme office. As Bishop, he was called upon to assume even larger tasks in the next five General Conferences, only a few of which can be mentioned as we proceed. The number of district conferences which he attended, and in whose successful functioning he specialized, would now be a mere guess. A careful check of the Journals of the Annual Conferences reveals that Bishop McTyeire conducted one hundred and twenty-five annual conferences, an average of five and one half for each year he served as Bishop.⁷

We have mentioned McTyeire's interest in making the district conference an effective instrument in the Methodist polity. At historic old Bethel Church in Charleston, South Carolina, which

⁶ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1886, p. 19.

⁷ See *Appendix D*.

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nurtured Bishop Daniel A. Payne, the only member of the African race who presided at the first Ecumenical Conference,⁸ Bishop McTyeire attended the Camden District Meeting and preached on the *Parable of the Pounds* (Luke xix, 26) on the second Sunday in July, 1866, concerning which he wrote, "this District Conference was the first ever held under the new dispensation."⁹ He preached "with liberty" and the Conference was an evident success, which was repeated again and again in the first quadrennium of his episcopal career. To cite only one other example:

The Clarksville District-meeting was held at Cedar Hill, Robertson Co., Tenn., April 17-19. Bishop McTyeire presided in his own edifying style—he seems to the manner born. He is greatly pleased with this new feature in our economy, and makes it singularly good to the use of edifying whenever he presides. There were over a score of preachers, local and traveling, in attendance, and a good showing of lay-delegates—the representative men of their respective localities. All the interests of the District were seen to, and suitable Reports were adopted.¹⁰

It should be remembered that district meetings were not yet a legal part of the Church, but were in an experimental stage. The leadership of the bishops, of Holland McTyeire in particular, so developed and strengthened these gatherings that the next General Conference gave them the same legal status as general and annual conferences. They have continued, until the present hour, as a most effective factor in the progress of the Church.¹¹

While Bishop McTyeire devoted his energies to the working out of the problems which confronted district conferences, he did not neglect attention to strengthening the already established annual conferences. One competent authority made this observation on this contribution: "To him, more than any other man, is due whatever of change has taken place in the mere routine and form of annual conference proceedings, and it should be added, the tightening up of some screws in the machinery that were getting loose."¹²

Fortunately, we have a hand-written account of Bishop Mc-

⁸ H.N.M., *Passing Through the Gates*, p. 71.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁰ *Nashville Christian Advocate*, April 30, 1868.

¹¹ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1870, pp. 192, 209, 212.

¹² *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, Macon, Ga., February 20, 1889.

Tyeire's appearance, preaching, method, and character—a critical evaluation of the man as president and leader of conferences, by a member-preacher. It was set down either as a memorandum or for possible publication, years after the experience and events it described. We submit it here in its entirety without change or comment:

Bishop McTyeire at the S. C. Conference

Bishop McTyeire presided at the South Carolina Conference at Sumpter (1873), Greenville (1882), Charleston (1884), and at Spartanburg (1887). We had the natural pride of South Carolinians in him—he was a native of old Barnwell District in South Carolina—and were somewhat disappointed and surprised that year after year should pass from the date of his election to the Episcopacy (1866) without his coming to us on an official visit. When finally he did come—seven years after his election—we were all expectation for him and his work. The most of us had “sized him up”; and his appearance, his peculiar style of speech—public and private—and his lordly but kindly style of having his own way, were just about what we were looking for. He was habited in an old-style Methodist coat just such as I would suppose Lewis Myers, who joined the S. C. Conference in 1799, would have worn, and just like the one that Lewis Scarboro (who was in our Conference from 1837 to 1884) did wear on all public and state occasions. He seemed to me to affect the old-time way of the fathers. I never saw Bishop Soule, but he (Bp. McT.) must have reminded one no little of this “Iron Duke” of our Connection minus the older Bishop’s somewhat prolix and sesquipedalian periods.

I was a young preacher when the Bishop first came to preside over our Conference and I was *all ears* for every word he might utter from the chair, the platform, or the pulpit. Just about nothing escaped me. It seemed to me that I had never heard one who so thoroughly weighed each individual word as he spoke it, and whose every word, when once it did come, so fully justified the time it took to find it. I remember every sermon he preached at each of the first four visits he made us. No one of them appears in the volume of his published discourses. Two of these (Luke 9:57-62,—2 Cor. 2:15-16) were among the very best sermons I have heard from any preacher—strong, timely, spiritual; one was a talk—wholesome and appropriate—that he made to the preachers (especially the younger preachers) which was dignified by the name of a Sermon (1 Tim. 3:7-9), but was not “preaching” in the best sense of it,—and one was an elaborate *resumé* of Methodist history and a vigorous statement of our denominational polity and doctrine; in which the preacher magnified the “old paths” (Jer. 6:16) and exhorted us to *walk therein*. The first and second of these sermons in the order above would have taken high rank before any congregation of Christendom as strong meat for mature minds; but the two others did little else than serve a denominational purpose. All four, however, would be remembered by all who heard them. I don’t know that I can better characterize the Bishop’s preaching than in the words of an intelligent layman, who heard him in a plain congregation at a country church during one of his visits to a plantation

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he inherited from an uncle in South Carolina.¹³ Said my informant: "When he first began, it didn't seem to be so much of a sermon for a Bishop; but the further he went the greater the sermon seemed to be,—and the truth of the business is, from then till now, as I think about it, the sermon continues to grow bigger and bigger."

The Bishop was certainly the master of a strong idiomatic English. His words fell with power. *Fell* is the way to put it. It reminds one of what Emerson said of Dr. Ripley, the old Concord minister. "The structure of his sentences was admirable; so neat, so natural, so terse, his words fell like stones."

The Bishop introduced at our Conference, as I doubt not he did elsewhere among the Conferences he held, the *statistical* method in the examination of the character of the preachers. It was a tedious process; but it accomplished his purpose. It improved the collections. It tended largely, however, to condition a preacher's promotion and prominence on his business methods and habits. If it did not secularize our holy vocation, it did not promote our spirituality as men of God and as Soul-winners. For one, I am glad to notice that under the present administration of our bishops the hanging of a preacher on the tenter-hooks of a tiresome financial and statistical report is going into desuetude.

I found him to be a very kind man. He showed consideration to a young man who was trying to make something of himself. He was the young preacher's friend. He showed this both in his personal contact with the young preachers as also in his general administration of his office and ministry. I should say that no preacher before our Conference since my connection with it since 1862 has been more inspiring and uplifting to our preachers and especially the younger ones. After his defects, growing out of an awkward pulpit manner and a drawling style of speech, are forgotten, the influence of his thought and spiritual and personal magnetism will remain.

Samuel A. Weber

Charleston, S. C., March 23rd, 1898

This all-inclusive, forthright description of Holland McTyeire's conduct of conferences needs no supplement or further delineation. The comparison of his words to falling stones, partly drawn from a quotation from Emerson, resembles strongly the expression of another preacher, who was associated with Holland in Alabama who said, "As a preacher he was clear, logical and apostolic. He piled up truth like pyramids of granite." This same authority goes on to assert that the Bishop's "broad and moulding statesmanship" in the Church suggested that, "Had he entered the political arena he would have probably wielded the influence of a Clay or Calhoun." ¹⁴

¹³ Probably Salem Church in Barnwell (author's note).

¹⁴ Shoaff, J. W., *Address*, delivered at St. Francis Street Church, Mobile, Ala., 1895, now in Church library.

Other revealing pictures, like the one of McTyeire in action in the South Carolina Conference, have been depicted but few in such realistic fashion. A portrait of his appearance among his colleagues of the College of Bishops has been left us by a deft hand, but we are content with presentation of a single highlight. In 1868, the College of Bishops held its annual meeting in St. Louis. During the sessions, the corner-stone of St. John's Church was laid. Holland McTyeire, the youngest of them, was the orator. All of the bishops were about him except Bishop Early, who had been superannuated. The College met again the next year in St. Louis. Here is an excerpt from a contemporary portrait of Bishop McTyeire:

Physically, he stands, like Saul of Kish—head and shoulders above the rest. Intellectually, he is not a whit behind the chiefest of them all. Possibly *all* the elements of greatness are as equally poised in him as in any living man. He has, in an eminent degree, that quality so rarely found, and always characteristic of the truly great—he is *quiet*. This does not imply *coldness*. A person of finer and more fervid feeling, one does not often meet. It is no disparagement that this fount “is in the far interior”—even in the heart, that sacred source of softest sympathy and love.¹⁵

Before we pass on to the important products of his pen, we draw attention to a loving service, often rendered by Holland, in which he had no peer among his fellow bishops or in the entire Methodist connection—that of offering memorial tributes to his departed colleagues and friends.

His analysis of character was keen and exhaustive. This led to his felicitous memorial discourses, of which many are presented in this volume. He had become a recognized master in this difficult and delicate field of sacred eloquence; and a distinguished professor of the University of Virginia, writing the day after the Bishop's death, asked, “Who can take his place as the memorialist of his brethren?”¹⁶ This last sad office he performed for Bishop Soule, Bishop Early, Bishop Paine, Bishop Marvin, Bishop Kavanaugh, and Bishop Doggett, for Dr. McFerrin, and for Commodore Vanderbilt, as well as for many others of distinguished station in Church and State. But it was not alone in delineating and celebrating the virtues and achievements of the departed great that he excelled. With equal skill and tenderness, with instinctive tact and the rarest insight, he could set forth the excellencies of private worth, as is evinced in his tribute at the death of Mrs. Kirkland,

¹⁵ Mooney, Sue F., *Pencil Sketches—The Bishops in St. Louis*, Nashville *Christian Advocate*, November 13, 1869.

¹⁶ Smith, Francis H., letter to Jno. J. Tigert, February 15, 1889.

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the widow of an itinerant, and the mother of useful sons, serving their generation in editorial and professorial chairs.¹⁷

From the day Holland McTyeire entered the ministry, he undertook only those activities which seemed essential to the building of his Church. This was true of his writings, which numbered a half dozen books and hundreds of articles and letters scattered through the periodicals of the Church. The books were definitely functional in the Church program; a few of his addresses and articles dealt with education, or subjects which were only indirectly related to religious programs.

We think it appropriate to review his books at this point as important instruments in the Church's growth.

His first publication, *The Duties of Christian Masters*, we have previously described. The next two products were both *Catechisms*, one on *Biblical History* and the other on *Church Government*, both published by the Methodist Publishing House and long since out of print. They ran through several editions but appeared first in 1869. The *Catechism on Biblical History* was intended for teaching the young in families, Bible classes and Sunday Schools.

In the Preface, we find its plan of approach and methods set out as follows:

- (1) To give a whole view of the historical facts of the Bible. This includes the Old and New Testaments and presents matters in the order of their development.
- (2) It does not attempt to touch upon every point, great and small . . . some parts of Bible History are more important and prominent than others. The creation, the fall, the flood; the call and character of Abraham; the patriarchs; the Exodus; the Judges; the Captivity, etc.—these are epoch-making events; these are representative characters. They form links in history, and may be treated with more emphasis than events and characters of less magnitude; and also with sufficient fullness to make a distinct impression on the mind of the pupil.
- (3) Answers to questions are framed, as much as possible in Scripture language.
- (4) Most catechisms are constructed on the supposition that the pupils have a Bible before them and, in this way, may fill up gaps in the connection, and get an understanding of the subject, not afforded by the text. But, the fact is, that very few of them look beyond the cate-

¹⁷ Tigert, Jno. J., Editor, *Passing Through the Gates*, pp. 18, 19.

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chism for the lesson in hand. It has been attempted, therefore, to make the catechism an intelligible, if not a complete, instructor on whatever subject it brings to view.

- (5) Illustrations have been provided, not only for relief and pleasure, but for the higher purpose of quickening the attention, and deepening the impression, and enabling the imagination to fill out the picture.

The *Catechism on Church Government* had special reference to the constitutional law and general statutes as set out in the *Discipline* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It was valuable to all Methodists but was required in the first year of *The Course of Study* for preachers admitted on trial, and for local preachers who were candidates for deacon's orders. It was printed in English and Spanish. The Table of Contents serves as an outline of the plan of treatment. Its eleven chapters are composed of questions on the General Conference, the Annual Conference, the District Conference, the Quarterly Conference, the Church Conference, the Ministry, Local and Traveling Preachers, the Itinerancy, the Episcopacy, the Presiding Eldership, and Connectionalism.

It is not an overstatement to say that Holland was considered by his colleagues and many others in the Church connection as the ideal person to write the *Catechism on Church Government*. After reading it, we are of the opinion that Holland's modesty dwarfed the general knowledge of how largely he was responsible for the organization of the Church polity. His answers involve other personalities but never his own. For example, a question as to the author of the report which created the General Conference is answered, "Joshua Soule." There are no replies which assign Holland McTyeire as the sponsor of such significant contributions as Lay Representation and the District Conference. Even so, the acclaim accorded Holland for his success in skillfully adding to the fabric of the Church government has been generous.

We turn now to an even more important work, McTyeire's *Manual of the Discipline*. This comprehensive book is a guide to the conduct of deliberative bodies, a valuable aid to the adminis-

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tration of ecclesiastical law, and the formulation of a code built upon the historical decisions of the episcopacy.

The work was begun in April, 1867, when the Bishops requested that McTyeire "prepare a Manual, or Digest of Rules of Order, applicable to our Ecclesiastical Courts and Conferences; together with the legal decisions rendered by the College of Bishops." In May, 1869, the College of Bishops recommended the publication of the book as presented to them at that time, complete in "nearly all its details." Two years were required to read the Journals of the General Conferences from 1796 to 1870, "to present the principles and precedents established in adjudicated cases." To read the Journals and make notes on them was only a "first step in the work, and but a small part of the labor." Early editions of the *Discipline*, notably those of 1797 and 1808, several authentic volumes of interpretation, including "last, but not least, the Life and Times of William McKendree, by Bishop Paine," and also the standard authorities on Rules of Order and Parliamentary Usage were carefully studied.¹⁸

We shall forego the summary of this book because of its length, technical character, and limited interest at this date. Its great value is attested by the fact that it was required forthwith in the *Course of Study* for preachers admitted on trial and appropriate parts of it were studied each of the three years after admission. Wide use was made of the book in the Northern branch of the Church and elsewhere. Closely related to the publication of the *Manual* was Holland's active interest and success in improving the *Discipline*. He was appointed Chairman of a Committee on the Rearrangement of the *Discipline* by the General Conference of 1866. The laborious work being completed, the report of the Committee with minor amendments was adopted by the Conference of 1870.¹⁹ The Book Editor was directed to prepare and publish the *Discipline* "at the earliest day" and Bishop McTyeire was requested to assist the Editor in the preparation.²⁰ The book of the *Discipline* and the *Manual* were both placed in the required *Course of Study*.

¹⁸ See Preface of Second Edition, Nashville, 1870.

¹⁹ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1870, pp. 158, 176, 182.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

Comments on the *Manual* are all so favorable, one serves as well as another to witness its popularity and need.

His mind was of the legal mold. He was a lawyer, a jurist, a chancellor, in ecclesiastical affairs. His Commentary on the Discipline is perhaps not perfect; but it was safe, judicious. No man in the Church was as well fitted to prepare such a work as he was.²¹

From the Northern Church, the Editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Chicago, wrote:

I write to ask whether or not you plan to print a new edition of your excellent "Manual of the Discipline." For years it has been my habit to commend the little book to our young ministers. Bishop Merrill's "Digest" is good, but I think that it requires your book, Bishop Merrill's and Bishop Baker's to outfit the administrator of discipline. For certain uses your "Manual" is unapproachable.²²

McTyeire's versatility was recognized. Bishop Fitzgerald said "Whatever he did seemed to be his forte," but the testimony of another Bishop reflects the peculiar regard held for him as an authority on government, law, and discipline.

McKendree gave Episcopal Methodism the elements of its constitution; McTyeire, more than any other, gave it living energy and harmonious expression. He had genius for ecclesiastical affairs; he was confessedly our chief jurist; his expositions of law are of the first value; from his judgment on church law few cared to appeal. More than any one of our leaders and chief pastors he unified and harmonized the discipline of the Church. The appearance of his *Manual of the Discipline* made the law plain and easy of application. He might have been, had he been born too soon, for the work he did—had he lived in other countries and other times—among the greatest of popes. But, brought up as he was and living as he did, he was no mere ecclesiastic, he was in his church its first statesman as well as chief pastor.²³

In 1884, American Methodism celebrated its Centennial in a Conference at Baltimore where the Christmas Conference had been convened a century before. The Centenary Committee, supported by the College of Bishops, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, urged McTyeire to undertake *A History of Methodism*. This exhaustive treatise of nearly seven hundred pages,

²¹ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, April 18, 1889.

²² Arthur Edwards, October 29, 1888.

²³ Haygood, A. G., *Atlanta Constitution*, February 18, 1889.

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his *Magnum Opus*, received instant approval and recognition throughout Methodism. Letters and reviews could be quoted *ad libidum* but we must generalize to meet space and proportion. Caution was advised by the author against the supposition that he wrote a history of Southern Methodism. Rather it was "Methodism from a Southern point of view." In the South, Methodism was first successfully planted, and from thence it spread North and East and West."²⁴ The *History* sold 10,000 copies in a few years. It was a best seller in its day among religious books and has become a standard not to say a classic work of Methodism. It is compact in spite of length and clear amidst comprehensive details. Its style the reader may judge from the numerous quotations in this biography. It is no longer printed but brought considerable in royalties to the Bishop's daughters twenty-five years after his death. We quote from the memorials of his brethren, as a gauge of how he was regarded by them as a writer and historian:

As a writer, especially as an editor, our church has never had one to surpass him among all its brilliant minds.

Bishop McTyeire did fine service with his pen in many ways, but he has gained lasting distinction by his latest production, *A History of Methodism*. This is a ponderous production, full of fact, and with none of the adornments and illusions of fiction. We are greatly indebted to him for this much needed book.²⁵

Holland's impartial regard and constant concern for the Negro in all relations is touched upon by his long associate and co-worker, Bishop Keener, in speaking of the *History*:

His *History of Methodism* was a valuable contribution to Methodism on both sides of the Atlantic. It at least speaks for our Southern people; it put to the record in a fair historical spirit a statement of the triumph of our Christianity in having raised in a single century barbarians of the dullest type to seats of honor among a civilized nation, and having given them an experimental knowledge of spiritual things. It claims for our people the great achievement in all the centuries of rescuing five millions of Negroes now living, besides the millions dead, from their degrading superstitions by the self-denying toil of hundreds of missionaries, who for a century preached on Southern plantations, circuits, and stations—a success never as yet surpassed in the missionary field.²⁶

²⁴ Preface, p. 3.

²⁵ Memorial, *Journal of General Conference*, 1890, pp. 75-78.

²⁶ Keener, *op. cit.*

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Holland was fond of quoting the statement of his friend, John B. McFerrin, "we received them slaves; we return them Bishops and Senators." He was also proud of the two Negro bishops which he and Bishop Paine ordained and the South Carolina Negro who presided at the Ecumenical. It is not strange that among the letters he carefully preserved was one from a Negro bishop with references to the *History of Methodism* and *Catechism on Church Government*.

Dear Bishop: In reading your *History of Methodism*, I see you have done our church justice. I mean the African M. E. Church, for which allow me to tender you my thanks. This is the first time any real standard work has given our church a proper recognition. You will have the gratitude of our four hundred and thirty-three thousand members.

Bishop H. M. Turner closed his letter with a request that he might be permitted to embody all McTyeire's *Catechism*, "that will agree with our rules and customs" in a similar work he was preparing. "There is so much I did not know and the construction is so perfect, I wish to copy much verbatim."²⁷

A final volume of sermons and two addresses of Bishop McTyeire's was posthumously published (1889) entitled, *Passing Through the Gates*. This was edited with an introduction by Reverend Jno. J. Tigert, later a bishop of the Southern Methodist Church. This volume has been quoted in this and other chapters of this biography.

²⁷ Letter dated November 15, 1884.

CHAPTER XIII

BISHOP HOLLAND McTYEIRE BUILDS A UNIVERSITY

OXFORD UNIVERSITY has mothered religious movements and leaders. Conspicuous among the latter were three Johns—Wycliffe, Wesley, and Newman. John Wesley, a brilliant scholar, taught at Christ Church college, one of Oxford's greatest. It was natural that religion fostered by Wesley would also involve education. The masses reached by Methodism contained many that were ignorant and even illiterate. Converts learned to sing and pray and to read and write simultaneously. Methodism built churches and schools as counterparts. We have seen that Holland McTyeire drew religion and education at the same founts—Cokesbury and Randolph-Macon. So it had been with brutally ignorant colliers of Bristol, England, first fruits of Methodist field preaching. They imbibed knowledge and religion as Whitefield started and Wesley completed Kingswood School. A few months after his ordination, Bishop Asbury laid the cornerstone of an American Kingswood, at Abingdon, Maryland, to be named Cokesbury College; under heavy stress, he collected the funds to complete it, saw it attain quick recognition and then go up in flames after a decade of excellent service. Cokesbury was the forerunner of Bethel in Kentucky, La Grange in Alabama, Randolph-Macon in Virginia, and a host of others. As Methodism spread, schools and colleges followed in its wake. Eventually, most annual conferences supported one or more places of learning either singly or in cooperation.

It was inevitable that sooner or later a University would be agitated in the domain of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Such institutions had been successfully developed in the North at Middletown, Connecticut, at Syracuse, New York, and other places. It was in the Methodist tradition. In fact, higher education in the United States began under religious auspices. Harvard, Yale,

Columbia, Princeton, William and Mary, and other colonial institutions, with one exception, were all sponsored by churches and their principal function was to provide an educated clergy. It was for similar purposes that *The Central University of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, was incorporated, later to become Vanderbilt University.

It is not our purpose to write the history of *Vanderbilt University*. This story has been well told by a gifted writer.¹ It is our obligation, as a biographer of Holland McTyeire, to set out the part he played in building this great university. It has been often said, "Without Bishop McTyeire there would have been no Vanderbilt University."

In dealing with all matters relating to Vanderbilt University, the author craves some indulgence. If at this point the narrative should appear too personal or appropriative, forgiveness is sought in the fact that the author is involuntarily a part of Vanderbilt.

Born on the campus shortly after the University opened, a grandson of Bishop McTyeire, a son of a professor, an alumnus, a member of the Board of Trust for more than thirty years, he is unable to recall a time when Vanderbilt University was not an important part of his life and he a part of Vanderbilt. However small this part may be, it lives with him always as a precious possession.

Before undertaking to set forth the role of Bishop McTyeire in building the University, a brief review of the facts leading up to its establishment is offered for the orientation of readers. According to the Bishop's account:

The University owes its foundation to the munificence of Mr. CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, a citizen of New York, who, on the 27th of March, 1873, made a donation of Five Hundred Thousand Dollars for this purpose, to which he afterward added more.

The acknowledged want of the means of a higher Christian education than could be obtained within their bounds led several Annual Conferences in the year 1871, to appoint delegates to a Convention to "consider the subject of a University such as would meet the wants of the Church and country." The Convention met in Memphis, January 24, 1872, and was composed of delegates from Middle Tennessee, West Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

¹ Mims, Edwin, *History of Vanderbilt University* (Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1946).

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The Convention was in session four days, and adopted a plan for a University. Under the plan a Board of Trust was nominated and authorized to obtain a Charter of Incorporation, under the title of "The Central University of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

A liberal Charter was obtained that year, and the Board of Trust met January 16, 1873, and completed its organization. Bylaws were adopted and agents appointed to solicit funds. A University in fact, as well as in name, had been determined on; in the words of the Convention, "An institution of learning of the highest order and upon the surest basis, where the youth of the Church and the country may prosecute theological, literary, scientific, and professional studies to an extent as great, and in a manner as thorough, as their wants demand." The members of the Convention were not ignorant of the vastness of the undertaking, nor of the magnitude of funds essential to success. Their judgment in the matter was expressed in the form of a resolution declaring that One Million of Dollars was necessary to perfect their plans and realize fully their aims; and so important was it, in their estimation, to avoid an abortive effort, that they refused to authorize steps toward the selection of a site and the opening of any department of the University until the public showed itself to be in sympathy with the movement by a valid subscription of Five Hundred Thousand Dollars.

Such, however, was the exhausted condition of the South, and so slow its recuperation under the disorganized state of its labor, trade, and governments, that the first efforts to raise funds showed the impossibility of the enterprise. The yearning desire of our people seemed destined to disappointment for this and following generations, and the well-laid scheme was already—in the judgment of some of its warmest friends—a failure. At this crisis Mr. VANDERBILT came to their help. In his sympathy for a people struggling to revive their fortunes, and to secure for their posterity the highest blessing of Christian civilization, he stepped forward and, by his princely gift, gave form and substance to the plan. The Board of Trust, in accepting the donation, as an expression of gratitude resolved to change the name of the projected Institution to *Vanderbilt University*; and on their petition the charter was so amended.² Thus the *Vanderbilt*, like the more successful institutions of learning in our country—as Harvard, Amherst, Dartmouth, Cornell, Peabody—inherits the name of the founder.³

Before the consummation of the organization he describes, Bishop McTyeire played an important role which must not be overlooked.

The effort to establish a central institution began with a recommendation of the College of Bishops in the great progressive General Conference of 1866. In the succeeding General Conference, Dr. Landon C. Garland, as Chairman of the Committee on Education, pleaded in his report for the continuation of the support of

² This amendment was made at McTyeire's suggestion.

³ H.N.M., Preface, *Dedication and Inauguration of Vanderbilt University*. (Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., 1875), pp. 5-6.

Biblical Departments in colleges already established, but stressed the need of the establishment of a Theological Institute in line with the recommendation of the College of Bishops. His Committee recommended that the Bishops "be authorized and requested to locate and plan a Biblical Institute." A minority report was brought in opposing the establishment of an institution exclusively for the training of young preachers. The Conference indefinitely postponed action.⁴

The next definite action to set up a Central University with a Theological Department came in the Memphis Convention, in January, 1872, described by Bishop McTyeire. He naturally omits to tell of his own part in this historical convention which was the real beginning of Vanderbilt University. Bishop McTyeire alternated with Bishop Robert Paine as President of the Convention. When not presiding, he was the most active man on the floor. He was the author of the resolution that committed the Convention to the establishment of "an institution of learning of the highest order and upon the surest basis, where the youth of the Church and the country may prosecute theological, literary, scientific and professional studies." He made the following motion:

Resolved, that it [the University] shall consist at present of five schools or departments, viz.: first, a theological school for the training of our young preachers, who, on application for admission, shall present a recommendation from a quarterly or an annual conference, and shall have attained a standard of education equal to that required for admission on trial into an annual conference; and instruction to them shall be free, both in the theological and literary and scientific departments; second, a literary and scientific school; third, a normal school; fourth, a law school; fifth, a medical school.

Next followed the resolution of the need of one million dollars to realize the University and five hundred thousand dollars precedent to the opening of any department thereof.

Bishop McTyeire then proceeded to nominate twenty-four men to constitute the Board of Trust. Among these were Landon C. Garland, A. L. P. Green, David C. Kelley, Edward H. East, and Robert A. Young, who played leading parts. The Board was directed to take immediate steps to secure a charter, solicit and

⁴ *Journal of the General Conference*, 1870, p. 243.

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invest funds, appoint agents, and "do whatever else is necessary for the execution of the scheme." Seven was constituted a quorum. Provision was to be made in the charter "for giving a fair representation in the management of the University to any annual conference hereafter cooperating with us." And the final resolution of Bishop McTyeire was "that the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, be and hereby are requested to act as a Board of Supervision of the University, or any of its departments and jointly with the Board of Trust, to select officers and professors, and prescribe the course of study and the plan of government."

The resolutions here described were adopted unanimously, January 26, 1872.⁵ The day following the Board of Trust organized by electing Judge E. H. East, President of the Board, Dr. D. C. Kelley, Secretary, and Reverend A. L. P. Green, Treasurer. An executive committee was selected to implement the work of the Convention.

A little more than a month after the Memphis Convention adjourned, the Convention and its purposes were violently assailed by Bishop George F. Pierce, at that time the most powerful figure in the College of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the type of old-fashioned orator who swayed multitudes alternately to laughter and tears. He was a gifted writer and not unknown to the political arena. Senator Robert Toombs, the political tycoon of Pierce's home state, Georgia, was his bosom friend.

Bishop Pierce, though a friend of Bishop McTyeire, something of which has already been revealed in Pierce's *Incidents of Western Travel*, led a two-pronged attack upon the University which McTyeire was endeavoring to organize—one among the entire membership of the Church, the other in the College of Bishops.

Bishop Pierce used the Nashville *Advocate*, the connectional paper of the entire Church, as a forum for several articles against the proposed University.

At a meeting of the Board of Trust on May 8, 1872, the Board *resolved*

⁵ Minutes of the Board of Trust of Vanderbilt University, I, Part 1, p. 1.

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1. That the Secretary be and is hereby directed to address the Bishops with the view of obtaining their acceptance of the foregoing official relations with the University.

2. That the secretary invite the Bishops to attend the present meeting of the Board of Trust.

At an evening session of the Board, with Judge East, President of the Board, in the chair, Bishop McTyeire, Secretary of the College of Bishops, made the following report to the Board:

The College of Bishops have instructed me to report to the Board—that during the brief time at command they considered the paper submitted through Doctor Kelley, your Secretary. A vote was reached on the following motion:

“That we respectfully decline a compliance with the proposals contained in the papers submitted to us by the Board”—

Which motion did not prevail. Whereupon without taking further action the College of Bishops adjourned, instructing the Secretary to report these facts to your body.

Very respectfully,

H. N. McTyeire, Secretary

Thus McTyeire's resolution to have the College of Bishops act as a Board of Supervision of the University and assume responsibility with the Board of Trust for oversight of the University was left without action.⁶

The articles which Bishop Pierce published in the *Advocate* were permeated with the kind of invective for which he was famous. Bishop McTyeire undertook a reply with characteristic clearness and logical argument.

In general, Bishop Pierce claimed that the Memphis Convention was “self-called—without power, original or delegated” and its action was “unwise, ungenerous, unfortunate.” He contended that education weakens the ministry. “Give me the evangelist and the revivalist rather than the erudite brother who goes into the pulpit to interpret modern science instead of preaching repentance and faith, or going so deep into geology as to show that Adam was not the first man and the Deluge a little local affair.”

He was careful not to antagonize any of the Methodist colleges in existence, but undertook to arouse fear among them for their

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

future support, if not their survival in competition with the proposed University. He was solicitous for the welfare of Methodism—"every dollar invested in a theological school will be a danger to Methodism. Had I a million, I would not give a dime for such an object." He stirred the folks in the grassroots with volleys of Websterian eloquence—"I am against it, head and heart, tongue and pen, now and forever, one and indivisible. I pray that the theological scheme shall go down to the shades of oblivion. I am a Hard-Shell Methodist."⁷

It may appear that the Pierce-McTyeire debate is now just an academic matter, the issue having long since been settled and forgotten, but biography is a part of history and in recounting such episodes, the character, faith and ability of the participants are revealed. We think a few extracts from the debate may be of interest.

In his initial letter of March 2, Bishop Pierce wrote:

A regular theological school after the seminary pattern will complicate our itinerant system—will break it down. The argument from history is against it—compare the progress of denominations with and without this appendage. The reason of the difference is our freedom from the encumbrance—the brake upon the wheels. As I understand it—the project was to unite the Tennessee, Memphis, North Mississippi and Alabama Conferences in an institution which would represent themselves—meet the local wants, and, of course, be open for general patronage. Leaving out the Theological School, the scheme might work.

He went on to say that Randolph-Macon, Emory, Wofford, and other colleges should not be embarrassed by competition. He appreciated education, but denied that it was a universal good.

In the next issue, March 9, Bishop McTyeire, "with the highest admiration, personally and officially," replied with a critical review and analysis of the Pierce letter. He observed that more than one of the Bishops had written about the subject but Pierce's letter was the first that was "controversial." Besides his own name—"a tower of strength," he made up a "powerful coalition" against the proposed University.

⁷ The Pierce *vs.* McTyeire letters appeared in the Nashville *Advocate*, T. O. Summers, Editor, March 2-May 18, 1872.

(a) First, he addresses himself "*ad collegium*," calls over the various colleges by name and "touches and tickles them all around." They are to be "ignored, eclipsed, degraded, absorbed, disabled," etc.

(b) Next, he turns "*ad populum*," the means of the people are to be "foraged and levied upon."

(c) The master stroke is "*ad clerum*."

What can exceed the rallying power of these sentences of his letter, found all in a cluster?—"The world is not advancing as fast as some dream. The ministry, as a class, are abreast of it. Within my day the preachers have stepped *pari passu* with society. I am not ashamed of my brethren."

While we are toiling up the hill together—moving in the cause of Christian Education against prejudice, selfishness, covetousness, and indifference, led by good and great men among whom Bishop Pierce is conspicuous, he hits back at ministerial education in these final words, "And if, as we go, the oxen should stumble, and the ark should shake, Uzzah had better keep his hands off."

Just so, dear Bishop, but people may differ as to who is acting the part of Uzzah. H. N. McTyeire.

Bishop Pierce returned to the attack on March 23. He asserted that University education was:

. . . not *a*, certainly not *the desideratum* in Southern Methodism. Methodism is for the masses—not for a select few. University education is *compressed* of necessity—very few can attain it. It is Utopian to dream of commonness in scholarship. I do not think the University is an improvement on the college system. The diffusive benefits of local patronage here and there outweigh the advantages of a *higher* grade restricted to a few. *He* charges me with addressing myself "*ad collegium*," "*ad populum*"—"ad *clerum*," so he tries it "*ad hominem*." G. F. Pierce.

We close with some remarks by Bishop McTyeire in the *Advocate* of May 4:

We made some progress. Bishop Pierce relinquishes his opposition to the University *except* the theological department. I expected as much from his candor. It is well to eliminate so many elements and narrow the controversy to a single issue. The Bishop confines his last letter to the theological department and deals his earnest blows against that "head and front" of the scheme.

Hopes to reach agreement on this—if he cannot conscientiously help it, we hope he will not hinder it.

He is assured:

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(1) It is no part of any such "school of the prophets" to make attendance, in whole or in part, a *sine qua non* of entrance into the ministry or the highest office of the Church.

(2) "Aping and imitation" is not designed and would not be accomplished by our theological school.

(3) We do not *call* preachers.

(4) We do not engage to make those who are called but help them to make themselves.

(5) We do not set aside the present course of study for undergraduates—we simply add large opportunity.

(6) Our aim is not to train a ministry for any one class of society but to compass all classes.

The issue involved is vital to the welfare of Methodism. Conscience is in it and convictions deepen. And I am not alone. We have delayed too long already. Hear it, oh ye Southern Methodists; this is the mired wheel; put your shoulders to it and *push*.

The controversy over the University did not destroy or weaken the friendship of Pierce and McTyeire. It is a tribute to both of them that differences of opinions never deteriorated to the level of personalities. They remained warm friends and active co-workers in the cause of Methodism until Bishop Pierce was called beyond the skies. The last act of Bishop Pierce on his deathbed was to summon Dr. A. G. Haygood, later Bishop, and give him minute instructions about the transfer of the Indian Mission Conference over which he was to have presided to Bishop McTyeire. "Oh! It was beautiful and touching to see this consecrated man, really in the very waters of Jordan, recommending by name certain preachers for specific appointments." ⁸

Bishop McTyeire did not fight alone. One of the bishops who gave him strong support was Bishop Doggett, his old teacher, who inspired him to go into the ministry. He wrote:

The objection, that any institution specially devoted to education of ministers will impair their piety, and endanger their zeal, I think preposterous. Certainly education, properly imparted, is not injurious to piety, and that invoked for young preachers provides against this very danger. . . .

Bishop McTyeire has borne a true and a faithful testimony to this unquestionable phase of our Methodism. I respect it, as my own. It bespeaks an exigency which we must meet, or we must gradually lose our ground, even

⁸ Dempsey, E. F., *Atticus Green Haygood* (Parthenon Press, Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., 1940), p. 89.

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where we once rejoiced in its uncontested possession. To what straits are we now, in some instances, reduced, and what will be the result, if we be not more provident of the future, with the ample resources which God has put in our hands? °

The University looked like a failure to its friends, including Bishop McTyeire, until Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt came forward with an offer which made its success almost certain. This offer was presented to Bishop McTyeire one night toward the end of a month-long visit in the Commodore's home, 10 Washington Street, New York, just before the Churchman departed for Nashville.¹⁰ The Commodore's proposal has been published more than once, but because of its importance to this narrative and for reference purposes, it is repeated here as Bishop McTyeire's account is continued:

The following important paper—the original proposition of MR. VANDERBILT concerning the University—is here inserted as the fundamental fact of its history:

New York, March 17, 1873

To Bishop H. N. McTyeire, of Nashville:

I make the following offer, through you, to the corporation known as *The Central University of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*:

First—I authorize you to procure suitable grounds, not less than from twenty to fifty acres, properly located, for the erection of the following work.

Second—To erect thereon suitable buildings for the uses of the University.

Third—You to procure plans and specifications for such buildings and submit them to me; and, when approved, the money for the foregoing objects to be furnished by me as it is needed.

Fourth—The sum included in the foregoing items, together with the "Endowment Fund" and the "Library Fund," shall not be less in the aggregate than Five Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$500,000); and these last two funds shall be furnished to the corporation as soon as the buildings for the University are completed and ready to be used.

The foregoing being subject to the following conditions:

First—That you accept the Presidency of the Board of Trust, receiving therefore a salary of Three Thousand Dollars per annum, and the use of a dwelling-house, free of rent, on or near the University grounds.¹¹

Second—Upon your death, or resignation, the Board of Trust shall elect a President.

° Doggett, D.S., to A.L.P. Green, Nashville *Advocate*, February 17, 1872.

¹⁰ The preliminaries leading up to the Commodore's offer are covered in letters of Bishop McTyeire and others, quoted by Mims, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

¹¹ The Commodore preferred that Bishop McTyeire accept a salary of \$10,000 per year and give full time to the University. McTyeire refused, preferring to continue his Church duties. For the latter he received \$3,000 per year.

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Third—To check hasty or injudicious appropriations or measures, the President shall have authority, whenever he objects to any act of the Board, to signify his objections, in writing, within ten days after its enactment; and no such act is to be valid unless, upon reconsideration, it be passed by a three-fourths vote of the Board.

Fourth—The amount set apart by me as an "Endowment Fund" shall be forever inviolable, and shall be kept safely invested, and the *interest and revenue*, only, used in carrying on the University. The form of investment which I prefer, and in which I reserve the privilege to give the money for the said Fund, is in seven per cent. First Mortgage Bonds of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, to be "registered" in the name of the corporation, and to be transferable only upon a special vote of the Board of Trust.

Fifth—The University is to be located in, or near, Nashville, Tennessee.¹³

Respectfully submitted,

C. VANDERBILT

At a called meeting of the Board of Trust, on March 26, 1873, the above letter, containing Mr. VANDERBILT's position, was duly presented, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That we accept with profound gratitude this donation, with all the terms and conditions specified in said proposition.

Resolved, That, as an expression of our appreciation of this liberality, we instruct the Committee hereinafter mentioned to ask the Honorable Chancery Court to change the name and style of our corporation from '*The Central University of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*,' to *The Vanderbilt University*; and that the Institution, thus endowed and chartered, shall be from hence forth known and called by this name."

One year later, in a letter to Bishop McTyeire dated March 24, 1874, Mr. Vanderbilt indicated his approval of all the plans which the Bishop had personally presented to him at Saratoga Springs the preceding summer and added another one hundred thousand dollars to the endowment funds of the University. A site of seventy-four acres had been selected by the Bishop, lying along a ridge west of the city at the same elevation and visible from the Capitol. This high location was notable not only for the picturesque outlook it afforded but was also historic. For years, a remnant of the fortifications of the Union army in the battle of Nashville stood on the Bishop's own garden. The future campus was consolidated out of six pieces of farm-land whose aesthetic possibilities did not appeal to Mrs. McTyeire. In amazement she asked, "Holland are you going to build the University in a cornfield?" "Wait, my dear,

¹³ The Commodore's first choice of a location was Mobile, his wife's old home, but the Bishop dissuaded him because of yellow fever epidemics in Mobile and for other reasons which will be mentioned later.

and see what we can make out of it," he replied. The Bishop, personally, supervised the planting of nearly a thousand trees of many species, some rare and exotic, others flowering and fragrant. Perhaps Holland's favorite was the magnolia grandiflora.¹³

Returning again to the Bishop's own story:

Ground was broken for the main edifice of the University, September 15, 1873, and the corner-stone was laid April 28, 1874. By October, 1875, the various buildings and apparatus were in a condition of readiness for opening the University; and a Library of about six thousand volumes had been collected.

The main building contains Chapel, Library and Reading-room, Museum, Laboratories and Lecture-rooms, and Offices for Professors. In all its arrangements it is ample and well ventilated, built according to the most approved models, and suitably furnished, and warmed throughout by steam. On the grounds are eight professors' houses, recently constructed; also, a commodious building, capable of accommodating thirty or forty young men, appropriated to the use of a certain number of students in the Divinity School.

These structures, together with Observatory, outhouses, and accommodations for the janitor and other *employés* of the University, present, at convenient distances from the principal building, a group of eleven brick and an equal number of frame buildings. The grounds have been well inclosed and suitably improved with roads and walks, water and gas pipes, and the planting of about one thousand trees.

While these expensive improvements were in progress a financial panic fell upon the country; banks closed, and even Government works were suspended; but Mr. VANDERBILT steadily furnished the funds, and there was no delay, at any time, on that account. . . .

The situation of Nashville could not fail to commend itself to the comprehensive views and practical judgment of such a man as Mr. VANDERBILT, when founding an Institution of Learning for Southern youth. In the midst of a food-producing country, it meets the first conditions of good and cheap living. The climate is salubrious, equally free from the rigor of Northern winters and the debilitating heat of lower latitudes. Central between East and West, its railroad system makes it accessible to students from every part of the country, and especially is it convenient to the teeming populations of the Valley of the Mississippi.

It is allowable, in this connection, to allude to the effect of this benefaction upon public sentiment. It was without precedent. A citizen of the North, Mr. VANDERBILT could have found there ready acceptance of his gift, and built up an institution rivaling those which abound in that wealthier and more prosperous section of the country; but to the South he looked, and extended to her people what they needed as much as pecuniary aid—a *token of goodwill*. The act, timely and delicately as munificently done, touched men's hearts. It had no conditions that wounded the self-respect, or questioned the patriotism of the recipients. The effect was widely healing and reconciling,

¹³ The Vanderbilt Garden Club recently completed a census of trees on the campus; 651 are older trees and there are 42 magnolias.

as against any sectional animosities which the late unhappy years had tended to create. A distinguished statesman remarked: "Commodore VANDERBILT has done more for reconstruction than the Forty-Second Congress." And when the life-size portrait which adorns Central Depot in New York, as duplicated by the skill of Flagg, the original artist, was unveiled in the Chapel at Nashville, thousands looked upon it then, and look on it still, as upon the face of a FRIEND and BENEFACTOR.

Every step in the procedure of acquiring the land and putting up the buildings was submitted to the Commodore previous to taking action. This resulted in a lengthy exchange of correspondence.¹⁴ In a final letter of the Commodore to the Bishop, dated December 2, 1875, he expressed a natural appreciation for the action of the Board of Trust in naming the University for him, and declared, "I am fully satisfied as to the faithfulness and, also, the judiciousness with which the expenditures have been made, and with the clearness with which they have been classified and stated." He wrote further:

Upon a careful review of all the circumstances and consideration of the objects sought to be accomplished by the Institution, and feeling that its beneficial operations should not be restricted, now that its material structures are so well adopted to success, I have decided to make an additional contribution, sufficient to bring the "Endowment Fund" up to the full amount of \$300,000, as originally contemplated—thus making an aggregate contribution of \$692,831.46. . . . And now that I have fulfilled my undertakings in this matter, I beg, in closing these statements, to say that to you, my dear sir, who have labored so actively and so earnestly in carrying out the plans for the University—and have labored so efficiently, too, as its inauguration within thirty months shows—and who will, as the President of the Board of Trust, have the chief responsibility in respect of the accomplishment of the educational purposes for which it was undertaken, I tender my personal expression of extreme regard, trusting that the healthful growth of the Institution may be as great as I know it is your desire and determination to make it. And if it shall, through its influence, contribute, even in the smallest degree, to strengthening the ties which should exist between all geographical sections of our common country, I shall feel that it has accomplished one of the objects that led me to take an interest in it.¹⁵

Very truly yours,
C. VANDERBILT

Shortly before the Commodore's death, the Bishop called upon

¹⁴ The file of original letters exchanged between the Commodore and the Bishop is in the Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹⁵ These last sentiments constitute the legend carved on the pedestal of the bronze statue of the Commodore at the University.

him to pay his respects in his illness, to his friend and the family, and gives this account of what happened:

On taking leave to come home, he remarked it would likely be our last interview in this world (he had hoped to visit us here, but that must be given up now), sent his regards to the Trustees and Faculty and the students, wished that the institution might prosper and do good, and, still holding my hand, paused. "Could you put off leaving for one day?" I replied that no urgent matter required me to keep my appointment in leaving just then, if his wish were otherwise. "My purpose has been to add three hundred thousand dollars, making out the million. I have perfect confidence in my son; I know that he will carry out my wishes, but there's no telling what may happen from outside to delay and hinder; so you had better take it along with you. If you will defer your trip till to-morrow, we can have the papers fixed up." That was the only time the subject of money was mentioned during a visit of days.¹⁶

The foregoing contains the Bishop's own story of the building of the University. Quite as important as the material support and the physical plant, which has been described, was the selection of the faculty and the educational policy—these became the real University. Before taking these up, we turn to an examination of the events we have described and what prompted them. Many have been the surmises and stories told and published. It is appropriate here to divulge the true account of what lay back of the origins of Vanderbilt University. This will require another chapter which will be abbreviated as much as possible, but which must be told fully to dissipate the illusions that have existed.

¹⁶ *Memorial Sermon at Vanderbilt University, January 7, 1877, Passing Through the Gates*, pp. 171-172.

CHAPTER XIV

MORE LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

THE destiny of Vanderbilt University is still unfolding. The gift of a million dollars by Cornelius Vanderbilt which made the University possible was "without precedent," as Bishop McTyeire said. He regarded the gift as providential. "*The Lord has opened windows in heaven for us, that this thing might be,*" he wrote Dr. Garland. Neither of these men, who collaborated to lay the foundations, could foresee the University as it is today. They were gratified with the results of their efforts but they did not envision that the Commodore's million would be increased to nearly ten millions by his descendants, though both lived to see generous gifts by the Commodore's son, William Henry, and the grandson, Cornelius II. Nor is the end of giving by the Commodore's descendants in sight. Neither could the Bishop and Chancellor foresee other Titans would emulate the munificent Commodore, and that the University would share in vast funds provided by the Rockefellers, Andrew Carnegie, and others. The University's assets have now reached over fifty-one million dollars. That golden stream which the Commodore started constantly deepens and widens. The reasons for this most significant phenomenon have always been uncertain. Bishop McTyeire was the recipient of the first bounty, but who was the Moses who struck the hitherto rocky heart of Cornelius Vanderbilt and unleashed the aureate stream that flowed from it? Most books and articles that touch upon this theme attribute the influence which motivated the Commodore's initial gift to Dr. Charles F. Deems, Mrs. Vanderbilt's pastor. Mrs. Vanderbilt was definitely more responsible.

Before we proceed with a factual and adequately supported presentation, let us state briefly the reasons for this discrepancy. The basis for the divergence arises principally from the fact that Dr. Deems gave information about the Commodore's gift to the

press, which was probably inaccurate. Dr. Deems later claimed that the press attributed to him what he did not say and also that he possessed knowledge unknown to others. His announcement, being the first, was naturally startling and attracted nation-wide interest. Neither Bishop McTyeire, nor his wife, nor anyone who knew the inside facts ever gave anything to the newspapers. Lack of full and accurate public information arose from silence on the part of the Commodore, justifiable reticence on the part of his modest wife, and strict secrecy preserved by Bishop McTyeire, necessary to get the money for the University. More than a decade passed before light was thrown upon the situation, which will be seen as our story is unfolded.

One glaring error occurs in published accounts, even in some emanating from the University itself, namely that the Commodore *wrote the Bishop a check for a half million dollars*. The document which the Commodore gave the Bishop was only authority "to procure suitable grounds," "to erect thereon suitable buildings," and "to procure plans and specifications for such buildings, and submit them to me, and, *when approved, the money for the foregoing objects to be furnished by me as it is needed.*" (Italics ours.) The Commodore urged quiet and expedition. The Bishop could not risk publicity. The release of Dr. Deems almost killed the University a-borning. A leak from the Bishop would probably have been fatal.

The correspondence between the Commodore and the Bishop shows that the grounds and buildings of the University were taken care of by submission of plans in person and by mail.¹ After the Commodore gave personal approval, the Bishop made drafts on the Commodore, usually involving a few thousand dollars at a time. The endowment was supplied by securities of corporations which the Commodore controlled. For example, the last three hundred thousand dollars which the Commodore gave consisted of sixty Second Mortgage Bonds of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, of \$5,000 each, seven per cent, pay-

¹ Original correspondence in Joint University Libraries, copies in New York Public Library.

able semi-annually, and registered in the name of the Board of Trust of Vanderbilt University and its successors. The bonds were enclosed in the letter of December 2, 1875, already cited. There is no evidence that the Commodore ever wrote any checks even for small items, such as the endowment of the Founder's Medal. When the Bishop was raising funds to rebuild the Methodist Publishing House, out of a clear sky he was notified to draw on the Commodore for one thousand dollars and to "say nothing about it." This happened repeatedly. The only person to whom the Bishop divulged anything was his wife, Amelia. She was kept posted on the stages in the progress and completion of the plans for the University, but the Bishop re-echoed to her the words of the Commodore; "Say not a word to anybody."² The Bishop said "I never had to do with a more modest giver than he was except in the amount." There is strong internal evidence that Vanderbilt relied upon the Bishop's estimates in making the gifts. It will be recalled that McTyeire was author of the resolution in the Memphis convention which fixed \$500,000 as the minimum for opening anything at all at the University and one million dollars as necessary to "realize fully the object desired." It would be a strange coincidence indeed if this were not the basis on which the Commodore suggested that the Bishop might submit projects for approval up to \$500,000, when he made his first overture, and that his final gift to the University, which he tendered McTyeire in person shortly before his death, was given with these words, "My purpose has been to add three hundred thousand dollars, *making out the million.*" [Italics ours.]

Now we return to the question of who influenced the Commodore. It will be recalled that Frank Crawford, her mother Martha, and Jane Townsend, Mrs. McTyeire's mother, were all members of St. Francis Street Church in Mobile. Amelia Townsend, cousin of Frank Crawford, married the young McTyeire. A love grew up between Frank and Amelia which was like that of sisters. Amelia was the older and Frank looked up to her. Strong ties developed that lasted through time and changing fortune. Reduced to poverty

² Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

in the war-stricken South, the Crawfords went to New York to start a new life. Frank Crawford was a gifted musician and resorted to teaching music as a livelihood. Commodore Vanderbilt met her, fell in love with her, and they were married.

The circumstances of this marriage awaken curiosity and we advert to it for a moment. Frank Armstrong Crawford, the daughter of Honorable Robert Leighton Crawford and Martha Everitt, was thirty years old at the time of the marriage. Commodore Vanderbilt was at the advanced age of seventy-three. Both had been married once before. Frank had no children. At nineteen years of age, the Commodore had married Miss Sophia Johnson, a neighbor on Staten Island, who bore him thirteen children. Some have wondered why a girl was named "Frank." Her father was devoted to Major Frank Armstrong, his business associate, and promised him that the first child, boy or girl, would be called "Frank Armstrong," which determination he carried out.

The marriage took place on August 21st, 1869, at Tecumseh House, London, Canada. The ceremony was performed by Rev. William Briggs, a Wesleyan minister. The couple were related through the Commodore's mother, whose maiden name was Phebe Hand, a sister of his bride's great-grandfather, Obadiah Hand. A special car carried the wedding party to Saratoga Springs. "The fashionable world was electrified by this event and the newspapers were filled with descriptions of all the facts and attendant circumstances." ³

A natural surmise of some people, who knew nothing about Frank Crawford, was that the railroad King had been hoodwinked. Nothing could be further from the facts of the case or the publicity that followed the wedding. Here is a sample:

Miss Crawford comes of a well-known Mobile family, and is, in all respects, a genuine type of a true Southern woman. The Commodore in choosing her as his partner has certainly obtained a prize which will be worth more to him than all the wealth of Wall Street. Possessing a highly-cultivated intellect, with rare gifts of imagination, she is not unknown to literary fame; but, better than all that, are the Christian virtues which are conspicuously illustrated in her every-day life. Though, perhaps, one of the wealthiest men in

³ *Laurus Crawfordiana* (New York, 1883), privately published, p. 94.

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America, it is out of the power of Commodore Vanderbilt to give such a woman, morally or socially, a more elevated position than that which she occupied before he led her to the altar.⁴

Now, the family records and those who have made a careful study agree that Mrs. Vanderbilt had an influence over the Commodore that no one else possessed. His rough exterior has been often mentioned. Largely under the influence of his highly consecrated Moravian mother, he had acquired a love for the old religious hymns and possessed a fundamental faith of his own. Bishop McTyeire recalled that when he asked the Commodore, in the early days of his acquaintance, "Do you believe in the Apostles Creed?" he answered, "Yes, and my mother never raised a child that didn't." ⁵ Mrs. Vanderbilt endeavored to develop the Commodore's neglected religious tendencies.

She, with her widowed mother, Mrs. Crawford, became the head of the domestic establishment. Thorough in their convictions, and well instructed in the faith, their religious influence could not but be decided on a nature which, though strong, was tender and appreciative. "I like that very well, Frank," said he, as his wife sang and prayed one evening; "but I like your religious songs better; sing us some of them." Then came "Sweet Hour of Prayer," "Rock of Ages," and "Nearer my God, to Thee." I may be pardoned for the liberty I take in thus opening to your view a glimpse of his home-life; but never did wife more faithfully build up on the foundation which mother had laid, or more truly carry out the work which mother had begun.⁶

About the time that the Crawfords moved to New York, a Southern Methodist minister, well known to Bishop McTyeire, Dr. Charles F. Deems, organized the Church of the Strangers, which was a place of worship for transients, transfers from the South, and others without a church home. The society first met in the Chapel of New York University. Mrs. Vanderbilt and her mother became regular attendants. They conspired with the preacher to enlist the interest of the Commodore, both financially and religiously, in his church.

They all knew that the Commodore acted upon his own convictions and was inveterate in resisting any kind of solicitations.

⁴ *The Metropolitan Record*, September 8, 1869, *ibid.*, p. 94.

⁵ H.N.M., *Memorial Sermon, Cornelius Vanderbilt (Passing Through The Gates)* p. 183.

⁶ *Ibid.*

He had a deep aversion for any form of begging and preachers excited his resentment more than others. In protest against the multifarious requests that poured constantly upon him, he said, "I am sorry for the distress of people; many of them, I guess, are worthy, but if I were to begin that sort of business, my door would be blocked from here to Broadway, and I would have to call on the police to get to my office of mornings."⁷ It is evident that neither Deems nor McTyeire was in position to solicit money from the Commodore, even though he liked them both. There is a story that right after meeting the Commodore, Dr. Deems broached a charitable donation and Vanderbilt "handed him a one-way steamboat ticket for the West Indies." The sequel of this is another story that Deems beguiled the Commodore by saying that he was being urged by other people to ask some rich man like the Commodore to build a Church of the Strangers for him. Upon calling Commodore Vanderbilt to witness, in his wife's presence, that "he had never solicited a dollar from him" and declaring that "he never would," Vanderbilt was moved to offer the fifty thousand dollars to buy the Mercer Street Presbyterian Church which became the Church of the Strangers,⁸ a free and non-denominational body.

The story of the one-way steamboat ticket is probably a myth. The claim of the gift of the \$50,000 for the Church of the Strangers is true but it is not the whole story. Mrs. Vanderbilt and her mother did the spade work for this by telling the Commodore how "overcrowded" the little chapel was where Dr. Deems was preaching and how "inspiring" his sermons were. His prayers were even better than his sermons, they said. Frequently, they complained of the "fatigue" they suffered climbing up a long flight of steps, etc. They were striving to arouse his desire to come

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Andrews, Wayne. *The Vanderbilt Legend* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1941), pp. 169-70.

Note: The source cited by Andrews is William A. Croffut, *The Vanderbilts and the Story of Their Fortune* (Chicago and New York, 1886). This was the first volume on the Vanderbilts. About it Wheaton J. Lane, in his *Commodore Vanderbilt* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1942), a carefully written volume of thorough research, says: "Croffut's book was based largely upon newspaper stories, and contains many inaccuracies which later writers have incorporated without checking." p. 330.

and hear Deems for his own welfare and get a sanctuary too. The Commodore began going at times to the services and eventually gave the money. Deems was undoubtedly largely responsible for the success of this venture, but somehow overlooked the help of the ladies in his publicity, though acknowledging it in correspondence.⁹

Returning to the Commodore's benefaction for the Vanderbilt University, his first and only large one, Dr. Deems had no knowledge that any negotiations were in progress during those weeks in February and March of 1873, when Bishop McTyeire was working out the plans for the University with the Commodore. Dr. Deems was in the home for tea and visits, but had not the slightest idea of what was going on.¹⁰

The Bishop got his opportunity and the assistance which was essential to his success solely from Mrs. Vanderbilt. Quite properly, as the lady of the Vanderbilt home, she was entirely responsible for his invitations to visit. Her love of Amelia, her confidence in the powers of the Bishop, and, above all, her deep devotion to the South and grief for its desperate plight, all prompted her hope of opening the Commodore's heart so that he would want to endow a university in the South. She knew that Holland, when a student at Randolph-Macon visited Monticello and the University of Virginia, which Jefferson had fathered. And this stirred his ambition. From that day he had harbored always the hope of starting such an institution in the heart of the South.¹¹ She knew too that her husband was desirous of leaving some great memorial before his death. Her task was somehow to help the Commodore, who loved her dearly, to decide that the Bishop's University was the enterprise he would like to endow.

The Commodore's first and most earnest wish was to erect a Moravian University in honor of his mother near his birthplace on Staten Island. He was sensitively aware that about all that he was and had came from his mother.

⁹ Undated Letters of Martha Crawford to Amelia McTyeire.

¹⁰ For an accurate account of the negotiations between the Commodore and the Bishop, based on the confidential letters of his wife, see Mims, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.

¹¹ Baskervill, *op. cit.*

He not only derived his keen intellect, habits of thrift, industry, and code of morals from her, but she provided the stake upon which his financial fortune was built. When he was a penniless boy, his mother went to an old clock and extracted the fruits of her Dutch thrift—hidden money—the capital that enabled him to buy a ferryboat. This his genius expanded into a vast steamship company and, later, into the greatest railroad system in America.

The Commodore reluctantly gave up the idea of the Moravian University. We do not have space to present the reasons. About this, there is some difference of opinion. The degree of control which the Church demanded and the inability to find a man in whom he had confidence are the reasons usually offered. Both are significant in their bearing on what he finally did. At the time of McTyeire's visit, Vanderbilt was toying with the idea of building a gigantic monument to George Washington in Central Park, that would exceed the one in Washington, D. C., in size and magnificence. Mrs. Vanderbilt did not attack this project, but she guided his thinking in another direction. She frequently rode in the Park with the Commodore in the afternoons. It was after such a ride, during which the wife had pointed out to the husband the many fine universities in the North contrasted with the dearth of them in the debt-burdened South, that the Commodore came into the Bishop's room and talked about a university in the South. This impromptu conversation gave the Bishop his cue. They talked far into the night. The next day found the Commodore making complimentary remarks about the Bishop.¹²

It was on the evening of March 17, 1873, that Commodore Vanderbilt made Bishop McTyeire the offer of \$500,000, to be available on certain conditions. The Commodore handed the Bishop a paper and asked him to look it over with this remark:

If it was to build a railroad, I would know what to do, but I know nothing about a University. If you will give up your Episcopal work and give your sole attention to this University, I will give you \$10,000 a year.¹³

The Bishop pronounced the offer, or contract, as "perfect" but

¹² Mims, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

¹³ Undated letter of Mrs. McTyeire to her oldest daughter, Mary.

declined the financial offer. He was leaving for Nashville that evening. Dr. Deems came in just before his departure. Mrs. McTyeire records the results of this encounter:

You will see why yr Pa [father] disliked to appear so hidden and asked if he might before leaving tell Dr. Deems. Dr. went right down to the newspaper office and next day an announcement appeared of this gift—which vexed Com [Commodore] as it was considered premature—yr Pa had not authorized him to do this—"Dr. Deems authorizes us to say that Com V [Commodore Vanderbilt] has given Bishop McT [McTyeire] for a University in the South at Nashville; \$500,000.—"¹⁴

An undated letter of Martha Crawford to Amelia substantiates the above; but while she also used the word "vexed" in describing the Commodore's reaction, it is a mild word for the way he was affected.

O how vexed Com [Commodore] was when he saw that in the paper er'e Bishop got home. O it did put F and I [sic] in the furnace for a time, he was so vexed. Bishop asked Com to let him tell Dr. the night he was leaving. I remember it well and Com laughed and told us it was too good for the Bishop to hold—but when he saw it published so soon, O. O. So many different kinds of people in this big world, eh?

The Bishop discreetly remained silent. He did not know whether the Commodore would go ahead or not. This explains partly why he worked so fast and seemed unappreciative of many fine suggestions made by Dr. Garland in letters. At a later date, after the buildings were erected, the Bishop wrote Dr. Deems a candid but friendly letter in which he took him to task for his injustice to Mrs. Vanderbilt, in connecting himself with the gift and making no mention of her. In reply, Dr. Deems contended that the Bishop had asked him on the day preceding his departure:

. . . to communicate the fact of the Com's gift to the public through the Associated Press. I knew the Com's peculiarities better than you did, I was sure the press would connect my name with it, if I carried the message. I preferred you should take it. I expected the Commodore to be angry. But you insisted, urging that it would do so much good in Nashville to have the news precede you. I saw the force of that, and consequently saw that if, for fear of the Com's wrath, I declined to take the message to the A.P. it might seem to you unfriendly. So I bore the brunt of all that *for you*, as a friend.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Letter of C. F. Deems to H. N. M., July 20, 1886.

The Commodore wanted the announcement of his gift to be made in Nashville. He was angered that Deems, who knew nothing until McTyeire told him, released it to the Associated Press and claimed credit for getting the Commodore to make the gift.

The correspondence was provoked when Dr. Deems came to Nashville to make the commencement address at Vanderbilt on the Bishop's invitation in June, 1886.

The Commodore and his good wife had both died in the interval. In the exordium, or introductory remarks of his address, Dr. Deems associated himself with the Commodore's decision to endow the University without mention of Mrs. Vanderbilt. The Commodore could not now be affected, but Martha Crawford was wounded deeply.¹⁶

Dr. Deems gave the manuscript to a publisher for printing. The Bishop then wrote him a letter upon which he makes this notation, "Letter written to Dr. Deems protesting against certain errors, etc.—being published, M."¹⁷ This is a long letter but certain parts may be quoted which are not out of context. We quote:

Now, Doctor, candor becomes true friendship. I suggest a change in the first paragraph—if indeed you count *that* really a part of your admirable address.

He states that the exordium may have been only for local use but that, if it is included in the printed document, objections must be raised.

... and more emphatically if they are to go abroad as published by, and issuing from V. U.

(1) In a celebrated trial in a New York court over the will of C. V. [Cornelius Vanderbilt], I was called as a witness; was on the stand two days, most of that trying time under cross examination; and my testimony under oath, gave a *genesis* of V. U. which differs from yours, *as some would understand yours*.

(2) You knew him. I ask, would C. V., if living, be pleased to have it so stated, as your exordium might be construed as stating it? What excitement, what wrath was stirred in him by the first brief announcement of his gift of \$500,000, in March, 1873, which seemed to look in that direction; and was capable of the inference that his friend and pastor Dr. Deems, had *induced, influenced or counselled* him to his great and generous deed!

(3) Our mutual friend, Mrs. V is gone; but her mother—whose memory

¹⁶ Several letters of Martha Crawford.

¹⁷ June 22, 1886.

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is tenacious, whose observation is close and whose judgment is uncommonly good—Mrs. Crawford, yet lives. She knew all that Frank knew; and Frank knew more about the original motion of Commodore's mind in connection with the University, and his subsequent acts, than the rest of the world. Ask Mrs. Crawford, who admires and warmly loves you as a friend and pastor—ask her about it; and—she will except to the way you state the case, *as it is likely to be understood by the average reader.*

Now Doctor, that you are and have been my friend, and the friend of Vanderbilt University—strong and steadfast—I am sure. In the chain of providences which strangely led to the foundation of this Institution in the South, under the auspices of Southern Methodism, you are, and always will be seen, a link. Had you not been in New York—had there been no Church of the Strangers, through Mrs. V's genial influence in large part—had not Mrs. Crawford and Mrs. V been under Methodist pastoral care in New York, and once in Mobile—had not *we* met these, in their house often, and on terms of confidence—had not Commodore got from you favorable estimates of me—as from me he got favorable views of you—well!—but for Dr. Deems, as a genial and general influence, and a bright link in the chain of causes often occult to human view—it might be said, the *V. U.* had never been. This is saying much. Is it not enough?

Therefore, you will bear with me in saying that as the *exordium* may be *locally* and *temporarily* related to the Address, and may, in your estimation, form no part of it—I trust it will be omitted or modified in the published form by Mr. Ketchum.

Very truly yours,
H. N. McTyeire

This letter speaks for itself. The Bishop was willing to accord his friend, the Doctor, a part in bringing about the Commodore's gift but not an exclusive one. He definitely objected to such publicity, particularly when it appeared to come from the University.

Dr. Deems replied that he was eliminating the *exordium*, and the address was published without it. Out of a mass of letters, we have selected enough to show that Mrs. Vanderbilt was *the* moving force behind the Commodore. It was the unanimous opinion of all those in the inner circle of relatives and friends.

Augusta Evans, another girlhood friend of Frank, member of the choir of St. Francis Street Church, who had moved to New York and become nationally renowned as an author, joined in the condemnation of Dr. Deems. Mrs. Crawford wrote the Bishop, "I would not dare to send you Augusta's views on the *Address*. She felt outraged and I fear will never get over it."

Mrs. Crawford wrote a four-page letter in which it appears that

Augusta did not consider that Dr. Deems' removal of the remarks about himself sufficient and that he should have made reference to the important role played by Mrs. Vanderbilt.

She will never get over it. I read that address and my blood *bubbled* when I saw no mention was made of our *sainted* and precious Frank who alone was the *cause* of the University being erected at Nashville.¹⁸

Undoubtedly, the fact that Frank had passed to her heavenly reward increased the resentment of the women and they became a little severe with the good Doctor.

Without any desire to belabor the question of origin of the Commodore's gifts, justice demands a correction of erroneous reports often repeated in books and articles, based on false newspaper accounts of the Deems' claim, even though it entails a prolongation of this unpleasant part of our story. In these accounts Mrs. Vanderbilt and the Bishop are either left out altogether or are given small credit, if not actually discredited.

A month after the letter of protest from the Bishop to which Dr. Deems had replied that he acceded to the request about publication of the exordium, he wrote again July 20, 1886:

The business portion of your letter of last month was answered on the spot; but I was too unwell to reply to the other portion and have been very busy ever since. Moreover, it was not pressing, seeing that I modified the introduction of my speech to suit you.

A six-page letter follows, in which he asserts that he had convinced the Commodore on the million dollars for a University before the Bishop ever met the Commodore.

Before you and the Commodore had ever met, in an argument which seemed to have convinced him, I showed him his duty to establish a University instead of erecting a Washington monument. His son-in-law, Horace Clark, entered the room in the rear of the Commodore and heard part of the conversation and retired. He afterward warmly congratulated me on the result. Then the blessed influence of our *sainted* friend and her mother was brought to bear to turn the matter in the right direction. That never ceased and without it all would probably *have come to nought*. (*italics his*)

The reference here is a story that is contained in most all the

¹⁸ Martha Crawford to H.N.M.

books but that seldom mentions Mrs. Vanderbilt, or the Bishop, except unfavorably.¹⁹ It is the familiar narrative between the Commodore and Deems, in which the Commodore said, "I'd give a million dollars to-day, Doctor, if I had your education." Whereupon Deems remarked that the Commodore was a great hindrance to education because, if he did nothing to promote education, there was not a boy in the land who ever heard of him but might say, "What's the use of an education? There's Commodore Vanderbilt, he never had any, and never wanted any, and yet he became the richest man in America."

This is the argument that Deems used to change the Commodore from the Washington memorial to the University. It started with Croffut²⁰ and has been repeated by others with varying versions. In one version, in which Mrs. Vanderbilt is omitted, the Bishop is discredited. The above story is followed immediately by the account of the Commodore's gifts to Vanderbilt University and then the following:

From time to time the Commodore would pen a playful letter to Bishop H. N. McTyeire, the President of the College. "My kindest regards to your dear lady," the benefactor would conclude. "From hearing Frank talk of her, I have almost got to loving her. So look out!" But the capitalist was never careless in releasing funds. On learning that the bishop owed \$15,000 at 10 per cent, the railway King fumed: "At 10 per cent! You shouldn't pay ten per cent ten minutes." Vanderbilt, it should be understood extended no charity to unlucky business men.²¹

The pleasantry about his wife is a correct quotation from a letter. The story about the Commodore refusing to trust the Bishop because of unbusinesslike practice in paying interest is taken from a newspaper report.²² It has no basis in fact and is the exact opposite of the Commodore's opinion, expressed more than once, concerning the Bishop's abilities. There is no record that the Bishop ever borrowed any money for himself or the University.²³

In his letter, Deems goes on to claim that he secured the other

¹⁹ Based on newspapers.

²⁰ *The Vanderbilts*, p. 137.

²¹ Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.

²² *New York Tribune*, November 21, 1878.

²³ For an accurate version see Lane, Wheaton J., *Commodore Vanderbilt*, pp. 315-316.

gifts of the Commodore and also influenced those of his son, W. H. Vanderbilt. Only one passage will be quoted here, wherein Deems claims to have secured the funds which the Commodore gave the Bishop to make up the million dollars, just before his death. He makes it appear that he succeeded where the Commodore's wife failed:

While I am in the historical mood and have a morning's leisure, poor as this pen is, let me tell you a little more. Some malign influence was brought to bear upon the Com. to induce him to withhold the last \$400,000. Dear Frank and her mother fought it with all their force and skill. One day the Commodore called me to talk about it. With every argument at my *command*, I fought for the *full million*.

Another letter (July 10, 1885) reiterates again the story of how he persuaded the Commodore to give the "other \$400,000" and says: "Because of that intermediate hesitation, I was very particular in having the phrases made right in that letter which the Commodore addressed you and which you did well to print."

The Doctor was careful to get the phrases right but was careless about the money. Three times he says "\$400,000" in his correspondence. The amount in the letter which completed the million was \$300,000, furnished by the Commodore, as already indicated, in the form of sixty \$5,000 bonds.

In concluding this part of our narrative, we shall quote from a private memorandum penned by the Bishop on the back of the envelope containing the above described letter from Deems and which he never expected any other eye to fall upon except his own:

Alas, Alas, Alas! Dr. Deems was *surprised* at the first \$500,000, and greatly offended the Commodore by associating himself with its published announcement, *March 1873*. He knew nothing of the gifts of W.H.V.—until they *transpired*. With the Commodore's subsequent gifts, I am persuaded he had no agency. Com. did not give \$400,000 the last time but \$300,000. H. N. McT.

Dr. Deems always took a proprietary or perhaps "patronizing" attitude about the Commodore. In his letters, one finds that he influenced the Commodore, who deeply resented the thought that he could be influenced by anybody, (1) not to endow a Moravian university; (2) not to build a Washington monument;

(3) to buy the Mercer Street Presbyterian Church for the Church of the Strangers; (4) to build Vanderbilt University; (5) to let Holland McTyeire build the University, etc., etc.

The only thing that he apparently failed to accomplish, and which he advocated in a lengthy correspondence, was the removal of Dr. Landon C. Garland as Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, about which more will be said later.

This chapter would be incomplete without more specific identification of Dr. Deems. A native of New Jersey, after graduation at Dickinson College, he came to North Carolina as representative of the American Bible Society. Soon thereafter he was elected to a chair at the University of North Carolina. In 1846, he was elected Professor of Latin and Belles Lettres at Randolph-Macon College, which offer he did not accept. This was two years after the graduation of Holland McTyeire from that institution and in the same year that Landon Garland retired as President and was succeeded by William A. Smith (already mentioned in our story) in November, 1846. In December, 1847, Dr. Deems was elected Professor of Chemistry and accepted. The versatility of a man who could qualify equally for chairs in the literary and scientific fields is worthy of note. He delivered a great address at the opening of Vanderbilt University on *Relations of the University to Religion*, in which he dealt skillfully with the conflict of science and religion. He stayed only one year at Randolph-Macon and then returned to North Carolina as an itinerant minister. His early departure is not made clear, but may have resulted from failure to get along with the President. At any rate, a feud developed between President Smith, a powerful man who was at Randolph-Macon many years, and Dr. Deems, which alienated many friends from each other and many North Carolinians from the College. In November 1855, a celebrated trial, *Deems vs. Smith*, took place at the Virginia Conference. Dr. Deems was his own prosecuting attorney. Dr. Smith defended himself. The verdict was unanimous for the defense. In June, 1856, Smith tendered his resignation as President of Randolph-Macon College. The Board refused to accept it, two members only voting to receive it. One unfortunate

result of this feud was that the North Carolina Conference withdrew support of the College.²⁴

In bringing to a close this statement of origins of Vanderbilt University, a salute is offered to Frank Crawford Vanderbilt, the institution's hitherto unrecognized angel. It is evident from the record that whenever Dr. Deems' claims were mentioned in her presence, she never demurred, but only sat and smiled. This is the report of her mother. During her grave illness which culminated in death, she wrote her mother requesting that she remember, with appropriate gifts, her dear friends, Augusta Evans, Dr. Deems, and Bishop McTyeire, and also Martha Chapel, which had been built and largely supported by her mother in Mobile.

From Mrs. Crawford, the Bishop received a bond of one thousand dollars as a legacy from Frank. His daughter, Mrs. Baskervill, tells us of the Bishop's tribute to Frank:

In a copy of the Bible purchased by him as far back as 1848, that he might "begin a more critical daily reading of the Scriptures," his comment on Esther iv-14 contains the following gracious and grateful tribute to the memory of the Commodore's noble wife, whose influence guided and directed the bequest into the proper channel:

"Who knoweth whether thou art come to the Kingdom for such a time as this? I never read this but I am reminded of another queenly woman, who in the hour of her people's adversity, and her own alliance with princely wealth, did not forget them; but great good came to them through her."

The northeast corner of the campus had been selected by him as a suitable location for a future "Frank Vanderbilt Memorial Chapel," which was also to be a monument of his gratitude to her.²⁵

Mrs. Crawford apparently sent Dr. Deems a bond and a note after Frank's death. The reader may surmise what the note was about in the Doctor's acknowledgment:

You know there is nothing for me to say now. I read your note over twice before it was quite clear what it was all about. Then, with tears in my eyes, I kissed the sweet face over my desk. It is unexpected and blessed. I think the special bond will be in my possession when I die. It will be, unless some dire necessity overtake me. I will sell all other things first—and the interest

²⁴ Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, pp. 116-117.

²⁵ Baskervill, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

MORE LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

shall annually be doing some good, and so my precious sister shall still be using me to do good; and that will be a sweet privilege for me.²⁶

We appropriately close this salute to Mrs. Vanderbilt with words that were penned by one of America's most gifted writers of her day, Augusta Evans, who traced these golden words:

Noble loyalty to duty, devotion to exalted Christian principles, remarkable and beautiful unselfishness of purpose, tender charity for *all*, and a refined firmness of character. Of all the women I have ever known, she is the *most gentle*, yet the most unbending in all questions involving conscience.²⁷

²⁶ Deems to Mrs. Crawford, July 26, 1886.

²⁷ *Laurus Crawfordiana*, p. 71.

CHAPTER XV

A TOP LEVEL UNIVERSITY RISES ABOVE IMPEDIMENTS

FEW universities have been built with more care or under greater adversity than Vanderbilt University. It was inaugurated in a war-impooverished region amid a severe national economic panic and a deadly cholera epidemic in the local community. "Yesterday was the worst day we have had—more deaths—78 in the city and suburbs: all put down to cholera except 4 (whites 22). Negroes get little attention—pressed are the doctors."¹

On March 26, 1873, Bishop McTyeire reported the Commodore's conditional gift of a half million dollars to the Board of Trust convened in Nashville. The Board quickly accepted the offer, changed the name from "Central Methodist" to "Vanderbilt University" at the Bishop's suggestion, and unanimously elected him President with a resolution of appreciation "for his judicious and faithful advocacy of the cause of the University." Agents were authorized to solicit funds and double diligence was decreed for securing another half million dollars.²

At its next meeting on May 9, the Board resolved:

That our President and L. C. Garland be appointed a committee with the Architect with respect to the construction of the buildings; to correspond with suitable persons to be appointed Professors; to take measures for the organization of the different schools or departments; and to adopt measures for the securing of libraries and apparatus and do any other work that may be necessary for the organization of the University and report to the next meeting of the Board.³

The Architect served only in connection with the construction of buildings; McTyeire and Garland worked together on the organization of departments and the selection of the faculty, with McTyeire assuming the final responsibility of presentation of recommendations on the faculty and Garland formulating the

¹ H.N.M. to L. C. Garland, June 21, 1873.

² Minutes of Board of Trust, I, Part I, pp. 17-19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

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report on organization. It will be seen that they collaborated as they progressed on all the problems involved in planning the University.

It should be noted that at this time, Landon Garland—whom the reader will recall as President of Randolph-Macon College when McTyre was a student there—was a member of the faculty of the University of Mississippi and also of the Board of Trust of Vanderbilt University. It is important to know what Garland's relation was during the period of the selection of the first faculty. It was not until January 16, 1874, that he became a member of the Vanderbilt faculty and May 4, 1875, before he became Chancellor.

McTyre wrote Garland the day he received Vanderbilt's offer, March 17, 1873. He said in part:

Circumstances require us to move with all reasonable rapidity. We must have *plans* for buildings, etc.—*and you know more than all of us on this as well as many other subjects* (italics ours). Allow me to say I should feel very uncomfortable under the responsibility laid upon me by our generous Commodore Vanderbilt did I not promise myself much valuable counsel from yourself. When I see you, I can explain more fully why we must move off so soon as things can be got ready—and they must be got ready as soon as possible.

Garland replied on April 2 and asked some very pertinent questions. He made some suggestions as well. He wanted to know if the University had been definitely located in Nashville. If not, more could be secured from competitive locations or Nashville would have to contribute to get it. The Chamber of Commerce of Memphis had made an offer of \$200,000 for it. Nashville might be induced to offer the plant of the University of Nashville. He saw what others overlooked, that the Bishop did not have an unconditional gift. "Do I understand that no part of the gift is to be vested until after the buildings are completed and paid for, and a balance only of the \$500,000 is to be invested?" he asked. He summarized the drawbacks of such a plan:

(a) You will have broken in upon your capital. (b) Your capital unspent will be unproductive for a year at least. (c) And after your building is finished and ready to be occupied, you have no funds to furnish it with means

of educating youth, without further spending part of the capital. . . . Now, would it not be better for Com. V to invest at once the \$500,000, and for buildings to be erected from its interest or from other funds at the command of the Board? If the location be at the same time untrammelled you would have money or buildings given to the extent of your wants. . . . By the time the buildings could be completed your \$35,000 income would be in hand to start this Un. upon its career.⁴

Garland feared a popular impression that ample funds were in hand to build the University and a consequent lack of incentive to secure additional funds. Nashville would not exert itself either. He wished that the Commodore had given a half million dollars contingent upon the Church raising the first half of a million. This last suggestion is a far-sighted prevision of a financial policy now often adopted by Educational Foundations and the United States government in making grants to educational uses. McTyeire read Garland's letter to a special Board meeting, which Garland did not attend, and wrote him about it (April 7, 1873):

Its suggestions were highly esteemed by others as well as myself. Indeed you will allow me to say and think me very sincere that we look upon you more than any other for the shaping of our course.

He thought Garland's inquiries "most pertinent" and wished he could "answer them more satisfactorily." He could tell him more when he saw him.

Mr. Vanderbilt's munificence is large, but *it is in his own way*. Men, of this sort, you know have their own way—even when they turn aside from building steamships and railroads to building institutions. The principal points you drew attention to and wherein his generous offer might be amended, were not overlooked at the time the matter was taking shape in his mind.

The Bishop knew things that could not be told—the Commodore's anger at Dr. Deems' premature release, for example, which the Commodore may have regarded as a "squeeze play." As will be seen, it was not long before the Bishop was between Scylla and Charybdis, trying to reconcile his role between the expectations of the Commodore and of others.

The task of Bishop McTyeire was complicated by the fact that Garland's health failed during the early period of building and

⁴ Garland to H.N.M., April 2, 1873.

organizing the University. Garland was compelled to seek some rest in a retreat in Virginia. Meanwhile, McTyeire pushed vigorously the construction of the plant. The architect, William C. Smith, was sent by Bishop McTyeire on a tour of many educational institutions in the United States and Canada before preparing plans for the Vanderbilt University, chief among which was the large Main Building, now called Kirkland Hall. The Bishop took the plans to Abingdon, Va., for a conference with Garland in July, where he found Garland in a state of physical collapse. After leaving, he closed a letter (July 22) with this regret, "We were sorry to part with you at Abingdon so feeble." Nevertheless, McTyeire drove ahead and carried his plans to Commodore Vanderbilt at Saratoga Springs. He wrote Garland the results (August 25):

Got here Saturday—brought plans and specifications for the University. Commodore likes them well and says "Go ahead now and build the house" [Main Building]. I expect to be in Nashville Wednesday night. I am glad you have the matter for the November report [departmental organization which McTyeire had assigned Garland]. I am unconcerned about the points you have in hand. But the points I have in hand *gravel* me and keep me awake o' nights.

Bishop McTyeire was now carrying a backbreaking load. In addition to his usual episcopal duties, conducting annual and district conferences, and preparing for an approaching General Conference, he was rebuilding the Methodist Publishing House, which had burned in 1872. Garland's breakdown in health and inability to attend Board meetings, coupled with McTyeire's mountainous mass of duties, required constant and intimate correspondence, which is preserved.⁵ Under the circumstances, we know the intimate thoughts of McTyeire and Garland, the twin educational founders of Vanderbilt, which would have otherwise passed in private conferences. They used a kind of code, using key letters for names at times, but one can readily interpret what they are saying by internal evidence, descriptions, and other revealing signs. In addition we have the personal memoranda and

⁵ Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

files of the Bishop.⁶ We know the inside story of how Vanderbilt was built, not to play on words; otherwise, we would not know today how the dragon's teeth were sown that created dissension and strife among the distinguished array of scholars who composed the first faculty and made it necessary for the Bishop to reorganize the staff before the University could progress. Garland, with the richest experience of any man in America, as a teacher and administrator in colleges and universities, gave the Bishop the best advice and foresaw the evils before they arose over and beyond the Bishop's control. Garland was ready to quit. The Bishop carried on and would have resigned but knew full well that all the funds from the Commodore would immediately cease. Out of it came one of our greatest universities.

Before proceeding to further details, the testimony of another eminent educator and churchman is presented, who came to Vanderbilt following the reorganization—that of Henry N. Snyder, President of Wofford College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, for forty years, 1902-42. He writes:

These two, McTyeire and Garland, brought together in the first faculty an all-star team of men already made and widely known. LeRoy Broun in mathematics from the University of Georgia; James M. Safford from Tennessee in geology and botany; Alexander Winchell from Syracuse in geology; M. W. Humphreys in Greek and E. S. Joynes in modern languages from Washington College [Washington and Lee]; Andrew Adgate Lipscomb, ex-chancellor of the University of Georgia in criticism and philosophy; Nathaniel T. Lupton from the University of Alabama in chemistry; J. William Dodd, a famed Latinist from Kentucky; A. M. Shipp from the presidency of Wofford College in South Carolina. Here was what might be regarded as a great array of proved talent to greet the more than four hundred students who matriculated in October, 1875. There was much trumpeting, of course, over the significance of the event, and deservedly so, because this opening of Vanderbilt was more significant, in the long run of its place and influence in southern education, than any other event since the Confederate War, and few events since have counted for so much.

The University was eight years old when I entered in 1883. Much simmering and settling down had gone on in these years, and a few storms had disturbed the serenity of these fresh academic shades. Tradition was in the making, however, and all-star teams do not get along together as they might. The players are apt to leave their appointed orbits and clash. . .⁷

⁶ In the author's possession.

⁷ Snyder, Henry Nelson, *An Educational Odyssey* (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York, Nashville, 1947), pp. 38-39.

A TOP LEVEL UNIVERSITY RISES ABOVE IMPEDIMENTS

By 1883 that all-star team was already scattered into other orbits. The rumors rife on the campus were that most of them went away under pressure due to the clashes with the administration, and the administration was Bishop Holland McTyeire, and everybody knew it: By temperament, aided and abetted by the provisions under which he held office, he could not do otherwise than exercise a one-man rule over the affairs of the University. Perhaps in that stage of its existence it was well that a man of his type was in control. Otherwise such a heterogeneous group of trustees and faculty as was brought together in 1875 could not have functioned effectively in shaping the destinies of a new institution. What was really needed was a strong, courageous, guiding hand and the university found it in the bishop. Though he was like a rock when he once made up his mind, he could and did change it when the occasion demanded. The important thing is that by 1883 he was replacing the "stars" with whom he began with the young men whose fortunes were yet to make. He created a chair of English and brought young W. M. Baskervill, Ph.D., Leipsig, from Wofford to fill it; employed Charles Forster Smith, Ph.D., Leipsig, a Wofford graduate and instructor in the classics before going to Harvard and Germany to succeed Humphreys in Greek when he went to Texas . . . and in 1886, he called W. F. Tillett to the deanship of the school of theology, and W. L. Dudley from Cincinnati to the chair of chemistry to follow Lupton, one of the older "stars," and then in the same year James H. Kirkland, Ph.D., Leipsig, a student under Baskervill and Smith at Wofford and an instructor there before going to Germany. My guess is these two men, Kirkland and Dudley, were under thirty. . . .

Here was evidently a deliberate change in policy on the part of McTyeire and Garland, and with almost breathless speed which even the students felt, though they may not have known what it was all about, this change of policy began to show results. These men in the spirit of daring of youth proved to be not only great and inspiring teachers, maintaining instructional standards of the very highest, but also men who at once proceeded to plan for the educational advancement of the institution—to make it what its founders dreamed it might be if it really served the South, a university.*

No doubt, President Snyder's enthusiasm for the successful reorganization and advance of the University was heightened by the large part played in it by Wofford men. However, his analysis and statement are authoritative based on direct observation of the transition. His knowledge of educational administration and intellectual honesty are recognized by all who knew him.

The early difficulties at Vanderbilt arose partly from personalities but mostly from other factors. The mistakes cannot all be fairly placed on the Bishop or any individual. The Bishop was quite aware of his own fallibility, but the gravity of some wrong steps by others, including the Board of Trust, he did not fully

* *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

recognize. Subsequent history has shown that lack of sound policy in organization, particularly by the Board, would have promoted dissension and clashing, regardless of personalities.

Some of the impersonal factors which made for disunity and trouble may be listed as:

(1) The disadvantages incident to starting *de novo*—lack of experience of the responsible parties in educational procedures generally amid the necessity of establishing a university under the unique conditions imposed upon them.

(2) The desperate plight of the war-torn South and needs among all kinds of institutions and people, involving the educational field with peculiar emphasis.

(3) The heterogeneous character and powers of those concerned in building and governing the new university, including of course, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Bishop McTyeire, and the Board of Trust, which was composed of men who were mostly churchmen but part of whom were directly responsible to and ratified by different conferences of the Church, while others were laymen with closer interests than church affiliations, of which politics was one.

(4) As a result of the differentiated character of the elements of control, clashing was inevitable over the role of Bishop McTyeire, the selection of the faculty, and the attitude on controversial academic questions such as the teaching of evolution, for example.

(5) The violation of sound principles of educational organization, the disastrous consequences of which were completely overlooked by some, passed over with indifference by others, and not fully grasped except by Garland who did not attend Board meetings during the period of organization. That Bishop McTyeire did not completely recognize them is evident from a statement in writing on his departure for the Ecumenical Conference, dated June 28, 1881:

In carrying out the trust of Commodore Vanderbilt, and later of his son, I have done what I could—my best.

Little did I dream when undertaking the great work, what envy, detraction and worry, it would draw upon me! I do thank the Lord for his support and guidance. He has guided with His eye, and helped me to "build wiser than I knew."

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There was no mistake in location, none in carrying out details worth speaking of; in organizing less than is common. There has been no loss by fire or tempest—none by defalcation of agents, or failure of contractors, or flaw of titles. No death nor any serious hurt has befallen the armies of laborers who have toiled here in various capacities, and been thus enabled to feed their families.

It would be preferred by the writer to omit reference to the frictions that developed from personalities, but because of *ex parte* knowledge of some of these cases due to the Bishop's silence and steadfast policy of making no explanations, defenses, or replies, when criticized or attacked, certain misconceptions and unjust estimates of Bishop McTyeire can only be removed by reference to personalities.

No mention will be made of persons involved in moral delinquency, though there was one instance for which the Bishop, by keeping silent, took the brunt of the criticism and another in which a culprit attained the glory of a martyr. These were inebriates of the faculty, one of whom belonged to a family so dear to the Bishop that he could not bring himself to push the case (admittedly not good administration), and the other a thorough scholar and exceedingly popular man. These cases are supported by competent documentary evidence.

McTyeire possessed the vision and comprehension of the highest type of University, which would consist of a body of great scholars, an adequate plant, and equipment being necessary instrumentalities. Many institutions, unnecessary to catalogue here, were visited and inspected. They included the best in America and later some in Europe on the Ecumenical visit. He personally interviewed most of the candidates for the faculty and Garland assisted by seeing many. No nominations were made to the Board for the first faculty except by mutual consideration and agreement of both men. Furthermore, as great stress was placed upon science, professors in science were sent abroad to gather their materials and find equipment. Among the first major buildings, which McTyeire erected with the approval of the Commodore, was Science Hall.

Garland was McTyeire's first and most definite selection for a place in the faculty. It should be made clear that it was with great

difficulty that McTyeire prevailed upon him to leave the University of Mississippi and come to Vanderbilt. He stipulated that he would consider a place only if desire for him was unanimous. He had been President of the University of Alabama from 1855 to 1865. The University was burned by the Federal army and opened with only one student in October, 1865.

Garland went to the University of Mississippi as Professor of Physics and Astronomy. The plight of Southern universities, both state-supported and private, was a major cause of the difficulties encountered in finding a freely selected faculty for Vanderbilt.

While McTyeire was eager to secure Garland, and we do not think he could have done better, yet his freedom in selecting a faculty was severely hampered by the natural but intense activity on the part of hapless scholars, stranded in the impoverished institutions or cut adrift by those that closed.

These educational mendicants included both the worthy and unworthy. Garland had served with many of these men at Alabama, Mississippi, and elsewhere. His reports on some of the candidates, one or two of whom secured the approval of the Board, are shocking.⁹ The relatively lucrative salaries offered at Vanderbilt stimulated intense activity to get on its staff. Presidents as well as professors sought positions as teachers. There were no fewer than six of these in the first faculty. They were regarded as a great ornament to the faculty. This reflected a naïveté which was natural but illusory and deceptive. Experience since that time has made it eminently clear that former executives, even successful ones, seldom articulate smoothly in other administrations. They have special gifts for making trouble, and three of those who were brought to Vanderbilt became serious problems; in fact, created most of the difficulties.

Finally, before considering concrete action and cases, it needs to be said that contrary to what some might suppose, Bishop McTyeire encountered difficulty *because* of his *liberalism*. Many persons assume that a preacher is likely to be narrow, particularly a Methodist. No greater error could be made in judging Bishop

⁹ Garland to H.N.M. January 21, 1874; February 2, 1874.

McTyeire. In his thinking he was far ahead of the sentiment of most of his Church and many of his faculty. In some ways, he was broader than Garland who had enjoyed longer and wider educational experience. Garland was more sensitive to the pulse of the rank and file of the Church. He frequently wrote the Bishop of his regret that certain persons being considered for the Vanderbilt faculty were not Methodists. For example, he wrote (April 25, 1876), "Humphreys, if not a Presbyterian, is certainly the man for Greek. Joynes would be for Modern Languages if he were not an Episcopalian." While it was necessary to have a certain number of Methodists on the Board and in the faculty, given all the elements in the Vanderbilt set-up, the Bishop felt that, other things being equal, he would take a Methodist but that non-Methodist scholars of high quality were to be preferred to Methodists of mediocre capacity.

McTyeire staunchly opposed a movement to make Vanderbilt University connectional, that is organically a part of the Methodist Church. "As we seem to decline such distinction, it grows on other minds," he wrote Garland (Apr. 15, 1874). He felt that independence of the University was desirable to avoid envy and essential to freedom. He was a great and genuine Methodist, but realized that outside the School of Theology, where Methodism would be indoctrinated, the liberal and scientific departments of a university worthy of the name must be unhampered in the search for truth and the freedom to teach and disseminate it.

Related to the question of academic freedom, the emergency of the theories of evolution became a source of severe tensions in the first years of the University. Darwin's *Origin of the Species* and *Descent of Man* appeared shortly before the opening of Vanderbilt. Many religious people and even some scientists regarded Darwinian evolution as conflicting with the accounts of creation as revealed in the book of *Genesis*. Bishop McTyeire took the position that the University did not have to endorse theories of evolution but should permit them to be presented. There were scholars who saw no conflict between science and religion. McTyeire felt that truth should be sought and would abide, and that error

would fall to the ground and vanish. His liberalism was not unlike that of Charles W. Eliot and, in a smaller way, he did for Vanderbilt what Eliot did for Harvard. Vanderbilt at the outset became as great as if not greater than any other university in the South. Those who carefully study the matter will realize this. One authority states:

Of the able body of men who composed the College of Bishops [of the M.E. Church South] from 1865 to 1900, several stood forth among the most commanding public figures of the day. They were distinguished as being among the foremost leaders in progressive thought along various lines. This is particularly true of Bishop McTyeire.¹⁰ . . . Under the wise direction of Bishop McTyeire, Vanderbilt University, opening its doors in 1875, became almost at once one of the potent forces in liberal higher education in the South.¹¹

We have seen McTyeire's religious tolerance in his commentary on Mohammed and his liberal approach to education in the Pierce-McTyeire debates leading up to the establishment of Vanderbilt University.

We turn now to some of the early cases at Vanderbilt which caused unrest and friction. We consider them as objectively as possible, interpreted in the light of the principles and facts as we understand them.

The first meeting of the Board of Trust, which undertook the organization and election of the faculty, convened in Memphis January 16 and 17, 1874. McTyeire wrote Garland, who did not attend because he was being considered for a place in the faculty, on January 17, that the Board adopted *in toto* the scheme of organization of departments which the Bishop had asked Garland to plan. It included four chairs in the Biblical Department, eleven in the Literary Department, six chairs and a Dean in the Law Department, and ten chairs and a Dean in the Medical School. "It gave great satisfaction," the Bishop wrote, "and not until yesterday did we reach the crisis—elections." T. O. Summers, whom McTyeire succeeded at St. Francis Church in Mobile, was "heartily and unanimously" accepted as Dean and Professor of Systematic

¹⁰ Farish, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

Theology in the Biblical Department, and in the same way A. M. Shipp, who was called from a successful presidency of Wofford College, in South Carolina, was made Professor of Exegetical Theology. "Your name was called for," continued the Bishop, "and with tokens of great pleasure unanimously accepted for the chair of Physics and Astronomy."

"Not until the Chair of Chemistry was reached was there any intimation of a rival candidate."¹²

For the Chair of Chemistry, Bishop McTyeire recommended Eugene A. Smith, who had made a brilliant record at the University of Alabama and who had worked with the greatest scientists of the time in Germany. He excelled in both the classics and science. He had worked in the fields of Chemistry, Physics, and Botany at the University of Berlin under renowned professors. From there he went to Göttingen and added Mineralogy to a continued study of the above mentioned subjects under other distinguished scholars. After that he spent two years at Heidelberg, studying Chemistry with Bunsen, Physics with Kirchhoff, Mineralogy with Leonhard, and Botany with Hofmeister, when he received in 1868 the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D., *summa cum laude*. We give these details because we think Smith was probably as well qualified a man as the Bishop recommended at any time.

It should be said that Smith was Garland's son-in-law. Garland refused to join in the nomination. Smith was so much stronger than anybody in sight that Bishop McTyeire picked him above all others. Outside of the Bishop's nomination, N. T. Lupton, President of the University of Alabama, became a candidate, but sought his own support with the Board. The battle in the Board is described in the Bishop's letter to Garland:

I made out a strong case by letters from Vaughn [later Professor of Mathematics at Vanderbilt], Wyman, Hilgard and then urged the case with all my might on my own brief of facts—in vain I strove—they carried the jury in spite of me.

Eugene Smith was State Geologist of Alabama and Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Alabama. Before

¹² McTyeire to Garland, January 17, 1874.

that he had been Assistant State Geologist in Mississippi. He was thirty-three years old when proposed by the Bishop but opposed in the Board because of his "youth" and "inexperience." Bishop McTyeire later replaced Lupton with W. L. Dudley, younger at the time than Smith was when rejected, a member of the Episcopal Church, who became one of the greatest men ever to find a place in the faculty of Vanderbilt University.

President Snyder refers to the youth of Dudley and Kirkland. James H. Kirkland was only twenty-seven years old when McTyeire brought him to the faculty as Professor of Latin to replace J. William Dodd when the latter's health failed in 1886. He became another all-time great. The fact is that Smith was probably turned down by the Board because he believed in biological evolution, though there is no record of this in the debate when his nomination was under consideration.¹³

Previous to proposing Smith, McTyeire sent a telegram asking about his religion and attitude on evolution. Smith's telegram in reply is not available but he followed with a long letter clarifying fully his religious status and position. He stated that he was a Christian but "not so good a Christian as I ought to be—not so good as I wished I was"—and that he had accepted the theory of evolution as a satisfactory explanation of the facts of organic growth:

... but that there is anything essentially antagonistic to a Christian belief in it, I cannot believe—at least as far as my acceptance goes—nor do I believe it possible to take the few principles that lie at the bottom of evolution theories, and derive legitimately from them anything which can shake any man's belief in Christianity.¹⁴

Bishop McTyeire had written President Lupton for his comments on the proposed organization of Vanderbilt. Lupton followed his reply with one about Smith as follows:

Tuscaloosa, Alabama
January 6, 1874

Dear Bishop:

Since answering your kind letter in reference to the Vanderbilt, I have learned that extraordinary efforts are being made to have one of our Pro-

¹³ Cf. Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁴ See Appendix E, for Smith's complete letter.

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fessors here elected to the most important scientific Chair in the University.

As you have *desired* my views in reference to the organization, I deem it my duty to say that while the one referred to is a clever young man, and one whom I esteem highly, he is *not a Methodist and not even a religious man*, and, in my opinion *ought not* to be placed where he can give tone to the scientific teaching in the Chief Institution of our Church. In this age of infidelity and scientific skepticism, this department of instruction should be most carefully guarded. Knowing that you concur with me in this, I remain

Yours truly

N. T. Lupton

P.S. I would be glad to hear from you again before the meeting of the Board. Will the meeting be in Memphis or in Nashville? ¹⁵

Lupton, who also studied in Germany, apparently did not accept the theory of evolution. He was undoubtedly a competent Professor of Chemistry, active in the interest of the Methodist Church, and took his turn in the conduct of devotions in the Vanderbilt Chapel.

It was inevitable, as a result of his mode of selection, that he would act independently of the administration at times and create difficulty. He finally submitted his resignation in 1885 and the Board of Trust unanimously accepted it. The circumstances involved the granting of leave to a young instructor, named J. T. McGill, who wanted to go to Germany to study. Lupton protested and endeavored to secure a public committal from McTyeire that McGill would not be made Professor of Chemistry. McTyeire naturally would not stultify himself. Lupton made a bitter personal attack on the Bishop and, contrary to a rule requiring six months' notice, resigned with much publicity just as the University was opening for the fall term. The Bishop recommended that the Board of Trust waive the six months' notice and grant

the acceptance of the resignation and release him from his obligations to the University as honorably as the circumstances admit of. The time Professor Lupton has chosen and the manner—"after mature reflection"—will not escape criticism. "Professors shall be required to give six months notice of intention to resign." He resigns "at once," at a critical moment. . . . Students preparing to leave home or on the way will see the morning papers—informing them that one of the most important chairs is vacated. Three months ago this resignation would have caused us little inconvenience. His place could have been easily filled. We cannot now "ward off damage." ¹⁶

¹⁵ Letters from McTyeire's private file.

¹⁶ Minutes of Board of Trust, I, Part 2, pp. 438-440.

The reader may draw his own conclusions and evaluate the Lupton case, ethically, and otherwise. It is one of the few cases which the Bishop undertook to explain. The logical conclusion is that the Board made disaster inevitable by putting in Lupton over the Bishop's head. If some feared repercussions from the Methodist Conferences, if they approved an evolutionist, the Board should have allowed the Bishop to withdraw the name of Smith and make another nomination. The Bishop could have exercised the veto which the Commodore insisted he have over the Board, but he shrank from this and didn't recognize how tragic the results would be. However, time has vindicated the soundness of his recommendations.

Lupton was Dean of Pharmacy and Professor of Chemistry. There is no question that Dudley made a superior man as Professor of Chemistry. Young McGill rose in time to become a splendid Dean of Pharmacy, and his loyalty in sixty years of service to Vanderbilt may be equalled but never surpassed. Edwin Mims dedicated his *History of Vanderbilt University* to Dr. J. T. McGill. For Lupton and every other "star" in the first faculty, the Bishop found a brighter one to shine in his new firmament. Nobody in the history of the Vanderbilt ever excelled the Bishop in the selection of able men for his faculty. And what of Eugene Smith? He fulfilled a glorious destiny as a scientist. Even as this chapter was being written, almost providentially there came to the desk of the author an invitation to a banquet honoring the memory of one of Alabama's great sons who passed to his reward a generation ago. It read:

American Newcomen, at Birmingham, Alabama, U.S.A., does honor to the memory of Dr. Eugene Allen Smith (1841-1927), *State Geologist of Alabama* during 54 years! Graduate of the *University of Alabama*, in the class of 1862, he later attended German universities at Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. For all time, his work on the *Survey of the Natural Resources* of the State of Alabama will be remembered! He served Alabama!¹⁷

Upon the geological surveys of Eugene Smith the great coal and

¹⁷ See Lloyd, Stewart J., *Eugene Allen Smith* (The Newcomen Society in North America, New York, 1954).

iron resources of Alabama have been developed and the University of Alabama dedicated one of its major buildings in his honor.

An attempt has been made to present the Lupton case without impugning his character or professional ability. He was a real Christian and a well-qualified chemist. The reader, having noted our analysis of the impersonal factors which created difficulty, may apply or reject them. It is only in this way that we can evaluate Bishop McTyeire's actions and limit just censure for him to his mistakes, and any unfortunate results growing out of those which were avoidable.

Several other cases will be presented briefly to illustrate the variety of causes of dissension. The Alexander Winchell case is one in point. It centered in a conflict of religion and science but from different angles than the Eugene Smith case. Winchell was a former President of Syracuse University who was engaged part-time as a lecturer at Vanderbilt for three years—1876-1878. According to Dr. D. C. Kelley, the only member of the Board of Trust who protested the action against Winchell which resulted in his separation from the University, this affair was

the most noticeable case, the one most attracting public attention, and the one most widely misunderstood. The School of Natural History had presiding over it Professors Winchell and Safford. Neither of them gave his whole time to this school. Professor Safford taught chemistry in the Medical Department of Vanderbilt University. Without notice, during an afternoon session of the Board of Trust, and late in the afternoon, the division of the school was abolished and Doctor Winchell's work consolidated with that of Doctor Safford, leaving Doctor Winchell no longer a member of the staff.¹⁸

Dr. Kelley wrote his account some years after the episode, "Before all those shall pass away who were connected with the inception of this enterprise" . . . and "to correct some wide-spread misapprehensions." He thus summarizes Bishop McTyeire's presentation to the Board:

Not one word was said in regard to the teachings of Doctor Winchell. No objection had been offered to him either on the score of teaching or personality. That as a social gentleman he had been specially esteemed by his

¹⁸ Kelley, D. C., *Vanderbilt University, The Round Table* (Nashville, 1890), I, No. 9.

own [McTyeire's] family; that as a Christian, ever ready to lead in chapel devotions, he stood on high and unimpeachable ground.

Winchell had presented certain views which challenged widespread attention in a lecture entitled *Adamite and Pre-Adamite*. He attempted to support, by scientific facts, a theory which was not inconsistent with the account in the Book of *Genesis* and which was first promulgated by a Dutch ecclesiastic named La Peyere, in Paris, in 1865. In view of the fact that Winchell's position was misconstrued both by scholars in the University and by the public at large, including much of the church membership, thereby creating a controversy which reached national proportions, we present, in justice to him, both a statement he made giving his views on the subject of the relation of religion and science, as well as a brief summary of his controversial theory. Concerning the relation of religion and science, he wrote:

Religious faith is more enduring than granite. Scientific opinion is uncertain; it may endure like granite or vanish like a summer cloud. . . . Let us not adulterate pure faith with corruptible science.¹⁹

The author's understanding of the controversial lecture and his interpretation of Dr. Winchell's theory, in brief, is as follows:

The account of the origin of man in the Book of *Genesis* is the oldest and is in accord with that of ethnologists. It was 1656 years after Adam when Noah's flood came. His three sons originated three family types which science has designated as Hamites, Semites, and Japhetites. As these descendants of Noah dispersed over Asia, Africa and Europe they found older people already settled and in possession of the land—some black, some brown, many of whom were cave-dwellers. At this point a great mystery arises: where did the latter originate? If man originated only 6,000 years ago, then separate races must have originated in different places, as 1656 years seems an insufficient time for the unknown peoples to have ramified from the stock of Adam. This theory of a plural origin of man was supported by Agassiz and others and is called *polygeny*. Winchell, on the other hand, adhered to a belief in a

¹⁹ *Adamite and Pre-Adamite*, Nashville *Daily American*, June 16, 1878.

single origin of man and rejected *polygeny*. He saw that the whole group of blacks recedes from the white and dusky races. After 4,000 years, the descendants of Noah are still one race and the tropical blacks constitute at least four races. If all men came from a single origin, which Winchell believed, he thought with many others, both evolutionists and anti-evolutionists, that man's origin must be much more remote than six millenniums. This view was held by Huxley, for example, an evolutionist, and also by the Duke of Argyll, a great anti-evolutionist. Winchell did not accept Darwin's theory that man is derived from lower animals. He thought that the origin of man came from God, but that once the divine spark was implanted there was evolution through long periods of time which accounted for slow changes and the origin of races. This he told Bishop McTyeire and this appears in his argument for the theory.

To sum up, then, Winchell thought the first man was created by God, was probably black, and was located either in Africa or a continent east of Africa that has largely disappeared. This first man had intelligence, and during many millenniums his progeny extended over Asia. Next came Adam's family, destroying the Pre-Adamites, and then a deluge in Western Asia. Winchell supports his theory with abundant scientific evidence.

McTyeire felt that Winchell should have academic freedom to present his argument. Dean Summers, of the Theological Department and Vice-Chancellor of the University, used the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, of which he was Editor, for launching an attack on Winchell. The attitudes of Bishop McTyeire and of Dean Summers are corroborated by Kelley. "A brilliant course of lectures" was being offered in the McKendree Church of which Dr. Kelley was pastor. Winchell had given his lecture on Pre-Adamite Man elsewhere during the previous summer.

At the suggestion of Bishop McTyeire, Doctor Winchell chose this lecture to be delivered in the McKendree lecture course. This came to the ears of Doctor Summers, Dean of the Theological Faculty. Going to the Bishop, he protested in his usual vehement and dogmatic style.²⁰

²⁰ Kelley, *op. cit.*

The St. Louis *Christian Advocate* joined the Nashville *Advocate* in an attack on Winchell and aroused the Southern Methodists and others against him. To these attacks, he replied, as did his friend Andrew D. White, the distinguished President of Cornell University, and many secular papers in the North as well as some periodicals of the Methodist Episcopal Church came to his defense. The conflict did great damage to Vanderbilt University. It aroused over the North the belief that Vanderbilt was a "priest-ridden" institution in which science was "outlawed." The facts, as we have seen, were quite otherwise. The President of the institution, Bishop McTyeire, desired the fullest academic freedom and gave especial attention to the development of strong science departments with the best available equipment.

Dr. Summers was a great theologian but no scientist. His pet subject for attack was Darwinian evolution. Unfortunately, he misrepresented Dr. Winchell. He accused him of both Darwinism and *polygeny*, each of which Winchell rejected. What disturbed Summers was that Winchell's science did not seem to harmonize with his own theology, especially his views on the plan for man's redemption. Winchell was not a theologian and could not see why even aboriginal men could not be saved by Christ just as Abraham, Joseph, and other good antecedents of Christ must have been saved. The battle that developed was a small replica of those that arose between the Roman Catholic Church and Copernicus, Galileo, and others. Bishop McTyeire saw this and may have made an unwise remark when he told Winchell that he would not receive the treatment of Galileo. However, the Bishop saw the futility of trying to retain Winchell. He had no regular position with tenure at Vanderbilt. He was only a part-time visiting lecturer with obligations at another institution.

Many of the Board of Trust were representatives of the Church Conferences. They were elected by the Board, but had to be confirmed by the Conferences. Winchell was a victim of heterogeneous control which we have mentioned. The representatives of the Church had the right to and did represent their constituencies in both the Smith and Winchell cases. Commodore Vanderbilt

had wanted the Methodist Church as the sponsor of the University, which would be set up as a trust, to be administered by the Church in the interest of bringing the whole Southern region in closer harmony with the North. Neither he nor Bishop McTyeire wanted a sectarian institution. The agitation in the Winchell case aroused so much zeal among the Methodists that, for a time, a non-Methodist had little chance for appointment either in the faculty or on the Board. But in replacing the faculty, in time, as we have seen, the Bishop was successful in getting in a few great non-Methodist scholars. He even brought in a reformed Jew in September, 1883. J. H. Worman, a German-born Jew, who was converted and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, became Professor of Foreign Languages at Vanderbilt. He was a linguistic prodigy and prolific writer. He was described as "a kind of living encyclopedia of theological and biblical literature" and "in respect to languages he must have been a kind of Babel." He was a master of Hebrew and several modern languages. His Modern Language Series of French and German texts were widely used.

At the beginning, Vanderbilt naturally had not developed a retirement system. This led to unfortunate situations. Dr. A. M. Shipp, who was among the first selections for the faculty in January, 1874, succeeded to the Deanship of the Theological Department on the death of Dean Summers in 1882. He failed rapidly as he aged and developed throat trouble that severely handicapped his speaking. This interfered with his duties as a teacher and as Dean. The Theological Department deteriorated so that it became necessary to find a new dean and to reorganize the department. Dr. Shipp had enjoyed a splendid career before coming to Vanderbilt. For ten years he was a professor at the University of North Carolina, and served as President of Wofford College for a similar period of time. He gave Vanderbilt another decade of splendid service before his retirement in 1885. Shipp had been reluctant to leave Wofford and Bishop McTyeire had put pressure about him to come to Vanderbilt. When his health forced his retirement, he became very bitter and assailed the Bishop in a pamphlet which bears no date nor publisher. It is not worthy of Dr. Shipp.

He was the only one who suffered from its publication. Even his friends deplored it.

The Executive Committee of the Board of Trust, independently of the Bishop, issued a reply and distributed it through the Secretary of the University. It is entitled *Some Misrepresentations Corrected*, dated June 26, 1885, and signed by Edward H. East, David C. Kelley, David T. Reynolds, and Robert A. Young. Two quotations from this reply will suffice:

(1) It [Dr. Shipp's pamphlet] was evidently written under the double disadvantage of strong excitement and a weak memory. It does injustice to the University, and puts the President of the Board of Trust in a false and injurious light.

Without attempting to follow the retiring Professor through all his mistakes and insinuations, the Committee notice a few things for correction; and to the extent that Dr. Shipp has given circulation to his pamphlet we would, if possible, confine the circulation of this. (p. 2.)

(2) Dr. Shipp arraigns the Board of Trust, through its President, after what he terms "the reduction of the salaries of the professors in 1879." (p. 3)

Dr. Shipp thought as did some other members of the faculty that original salaries and sources of revenue should remain unchanged from year to year.* Any one familiar with the administration of universities knows that appointments, salaries, items of income, etc., must be revised in each annual budget. This is true in both state and private institutions.

The faculty sent a memorial of objection to the Board when the Board found it necessary to revise the method of payment of salaries because of a drop in income from tuition in certain departments of the University. This was in 1879, and the Board refused to return to the old form of budget after considering the memorial. Dr. Shipp refers to the memorial in his pamphlet. In regard to its policy, the Executive Committee, in its reply to Shipp, said:

It might have been well if he had also given the reply of the Board of Trust. Enough to say here that tuition receipts, in that department of the University where fixed salaries prevailed, had fallen off. Attendance and receipts had increased, meantime, in the other departments where the pro-

* Dr. Shipp's salary was never reduced, but the source of a small part was changed from endowment to tuition fees.

A TOP LEVEL UNIVERSITY RISES ABOVE IMPEDIMENTS

fessors depended for their salaries on their tuition fees. The Board, therefore, in full annual session, and after much deliberation, decided, by a majority vote, that this principle should be moderately incorporated into the Academic and Theological departments, to take effect the year 1879-80; and immediately notice was given. About one-fifth of the salaries of professors was made contingent upon their success. That is, a professor, instead of a house, rent-free, and \$2,500 *per annum* (whether students were few or many), was offered a house, rent-free, and \$2,000, in quarterly installments—the balance (\$500) to be paid, *pro rata*, at the end of the year from tuition fees, one half of which were set aside to be divided among the Faculty, and the other half to be used for scholarships and fellowships: thus interesting and helping students, and preparing facilities for advanced post-graduate study among the young men of the University. The patronage of the University, at a point that might reasonably be expected, will make up the full sum of \$2,500 to every professor; and the other half of the tuition fees will constitute a considerable amount of money, to be annually used for the encouragement of post-graduate students seeking the largest culture. A year after the plan of 1879 was adopted the Board, on memorial from gentlemen of the Faculty, reopened it for consideration; and, after thorough discussion, declined to abandon it. The wisdom and working of the plan approve it more and more. (pp. 4-5)

This chapter, involving some unhappiness in the early years of Vanderbilt University, can be concluded with the observations of an outsider with whom the reader is already acquainted. But in passing it should be made clear that the atmosphere of the campus and the morale of the major portion of the faculty were generally excellent. Most of the staff cooperated thoroughly with the administration and cherished their relations. This will appear in the next chapter.

Commodore Vanderbilt was living when Lupton was appointed and, if he had known the circumstances, may have lost confidence in the Bishop for not vetoing the election of Lupton. The Commodore insisted that McTyeire have a veto over the Board "to check hasty and injudicious" action. "I want you to have the same power over Vanderbilt University that I have over the New York Central Railroad," he told the Bishop. Can anyone imagine the Commodore permitting his Board to select an outside candidate to a position in the New York Central over his nomination? When the Winchell case came up, William H. Vanderbilt, the Commodore's son, had assumed his father's role as

philanthropist and overseer of the Vanderbilt trust. He was irked at the rumblings and dissension at Vanderbilt.

We have seen that Dr. Charles Deems came back to Nashville to make the Commencement address in 1886. He was in no way involved personally in any of the University's early troubles, but he lost no time in reporting to Mr. Vanderbilt and sent a copy of his letter to the Bishop. The part relating to Vanderbilt is as follows:

I have just returned from our University Commencement. It was exceedingly hot in Nashville, but everything went off very well. Ten years have done much to beautify the place in the natural growth, the soil seeming to have special adaptation to the nurture of trees. I was the guest of the Bishop and of course had every polite and kind attention. I lost no time but talked with everybody I could reach—servants, students, professors, teachers, visitors. I went from cellars to attics; I watched everything. I left Nashville with no increased estimate of the Bishop, who has simply proved himself what I was sure he would be, and I saw nothing to lessen my estimate of his powers. I think he has carried the Institution through its infantile perils, and I believe that its prosperity is more assured than ever. At any rate I have more faith in the survival of a baby after it has cut its teeth and had the whooping-cough and mumps. Some of the departments I think are really superior. I made a careful examination of the Department of Chemistry, and I think I know of but one institution in America that is better equipped with apparatus.²¹

From Dr. Deems' letter to Bishop McTyeire we quote the part in which he offers some ideas of reorganization of the administration of the University:

Now, looking at it from the outside, I think you need have no distress; your position with posterity is assured. When all the annoyers are forgotten your monument will stand. Your hardest work is over. You have just one more excellent job to do; that is to get the right kind of Vice-Chancellor who shall take the whole burden off your shoulders and leave you nothing to do but to preside over the affairs of the Board of Trust. The institution will never settle down to its right position until it can have a *Faculty* that may attend to its interior matters, and a *Board of Trust* who will never meddle with that but devote itself to the conservation and increase of the property, while they maintain a faculty competent to attend to all the balance. . . . I gave Chancellor Garland a little drilling about the Vice-Chancellorship. He will be a little sensitive; but I assured him that *he* ought to move to have some one to take the burden, and that he should not let his independence cause him to retire; that the friends of the institution wanted him there as long as he lives, etc.²²

²¹ Deems, C. F. to William H. Vanderbilt, June 19, 1886.

Some of Deems' suggestions possess merit, but what he says about Garland only shows that a University executive can hardly do anything which will escape criticism in all quarters. Where could McTyeire have found a better man for Chancellor than Garland? He was ideal on four counts, at least: first, he was not an experiment, McTyeire knew him well from his college days; second, his educational experience could not be surpassed or even duplicated in the South; third, Garland was the leading layman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and fourth, he was loyal to McTyeire.

This chapter dealing with the selection of the faculty of Vanderbilt University could not be closed more appropriately than by mention of Bishop McTyeire's uncanny insight in uncovering the greatest scientist ever connected with the University.

Word came to the Bishop's ears of a lad with scrofula, born in the slums of Nashville, who worked all day in the hot sun on the roof of a photographic gallery and returned at night to lie on his back and gaze at the heavens through a small telescope gleaned from his meagre earnings. The Bishop brought the boy, E. E. Barnard, to Vanderbilt, where he studied and became an astronomer, eventually the greatest of his time. During his four years as instructor at Vanderbilt, his home, called the "Comet House" was paid for largely by prize money from the discovery of comets, of which he found sixteen altogether. He moved to the Lick Observatory in California to discover the fifth satellite of Jupiter among other things and thence to the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago to find other stars and nebulae. He received numerous awards and medals from foreign countries and American societies, including the last of only four honorary degrees given by Vanderbilt University.

When Barnard's mother died in the early years, Bishop McTyeire gave him a lot in Mt. Olivet Cemetery in Nashville in which to bury her. Thus it was that Vanderbilt's most illustrious son came back in 1923 to lie by his mother in his native soil.

²² Deems to McTyeire, June 21, 1886.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LIFE AT VANDERBILT AND THE END

WHEN the McTyeires moved to the Vanderbilt campus in 1875, for the first time they possessed a permanent and spacious home. Among the first buildings constructed at the University were seven residences for the faculty. The Commodore approved these, but gave the Bishop instructions about his own home. In this he was instigated by his wife. Her regard for her cousin Amelia prompted suggestions which grew from experience. The prevailing collegiate architecture of that era, now fortunately abandoned, was generously supplied with towers and excessive ornamentation. The McTyeire house had a tower similar to the college buildings, but the interior was well adapted for comfort and liberal hospitality. The commodious reception hall, flanked by a "red" parlor and a "green" parlor, a network of dining facilities, and large cedar closets are some of the things that stand out visibly among the boyhood recollections of the writer. In the rear were stables, for the Bishop was fond of horses and cows. There were also facilities for poultry and ducks. He had a span of beautiful black Morgans, "Prince" and "Kitty Clover," and whether riding or walking, was constantly attended by his grey-hound, "Spider." These animals were very dear to him.

Everybody who knew the Bishop was aware of his loves—children, animals, birds, trees, and flowers—which became proverbial. His favorite diversion was gathering up the faculty children and driving them about the campus in his phaeton. In the winter he drove a sleigh to which the children hooked their sleds.

Abundant evidence of the Bishop's extra-ecclesiastic and educational interests has been recorded by close observers of the early Vanderbilt scene. One of the most distinguished professors wrote:

The yard in front of his house is ornamented with beautiful flower beds.

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. . . It would be hard to find a handsomer yard. The flowers were Mrs. Mc-Tycire's but the trees were the Bishop's pets and pride. Indeed, he was as fond of growing trees as Mr. Gladstone of felling them. In the early spring a not unusual sight on the campus was a stout, strongly built gentleman, with closely cropped gray hair and beard, and wearing a long, gray study gown, with his long pruning chisel and mallet, trimming up the trees that are scattered over the seventy-six acres of ground in the campus.¹

Nearly all the many trees, some of rare varieties, which the Bishop planted, lived. A notable example is the oriental ginkgo which today is about a yard in diameter. In fact, some of the trees had to be thinned out. A friend asked one day "Don't you hate to see those fine young trees go down?" "I don't see it sir," the Bishop replied. "I can't stand it. I have to turn my back."

He loved the trees and grass and flowers; and as he loved them, so he loved the birds and the children that came and thrived on these grounds as naturally as birds and grass. Older people were sometimes afraid of him. He was the *autocrat*, some of the grown folks said. But the little ones weren't afraid of him. When he drove through the grounds with "Kitty Clover" the children ran to meet him; and he would stop and let them clamber up on the seat beside him, in his lap, fill the foot of the buggy and the seat behind; and then he would drive round and round, the little ones shouting and screaming with delight. We missed our little boy of two years one day in our first year, when we lived in Wesley Hall, and after a frantic search found him seated by the Bishop at the dinner table. He had got tired of Wesley Hall fare served in the room upstairs, and had run off to the Bishop's to get something good to eat. That same little boy, at eight years, represented the children's feeling when he said, "I believe next to papa I loved Bishop best." Oh no! children were not afraid of him. They loved him and knew he loved them. If older people could always see as clearly!²

The reader must not draw the conclusion that there was anything exclusive about the Bishop's house or grounds. His house was another home for all the campus residents, and flowers, grass, and trees made one common garden of the campus. When the Bishop had something exceptional—all enjoyed it with him. They played croquet near his house and we have seen hundreds of people, citizens and faculty, sitting on the Bishop's lawn at night watching and scenting the gorgeous nightblooming cereus, illuminated for general enjoyment.

¹ Smith, Charles Forster, *Reminiscences and Sketches* (Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, 1908), p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

The campus was a veritable sanctuary of song birds, established and protected by the Bishop. Conspicuous among these was a flock of that most majestic and gorgeous of all the birds of India—the peafowl. The peacocks were as useful as they were beautiful, being regarded as unerring forecasters of rain. The English sparrows became a great plague on the campus much as starlings have become in some places today. They were pirates and destroyed other birds' eggs and young. The Bishop, without his usual Christian mercy, attempted to eradicate the sparrows with a shotgun, which at his death, "Cap." Alley, the campus policeman, inherited; he continued to carry on the war of extermination. Legends developed about the slaughter of sparrows of which this is one:

One afternoon the Bishop spied a sparrow taking his ease on the gutter that ran just above the fourth floor windows of Wesley Hall. The ecclesiastical aim was not as deadly as usual and the result was a fine spattering of small shot in and about the windows of a certain theological student, whose name escapes me. The young limb of the gospel had a pretty talent for vigorous language, however, and began an energetic exercise of the talent before he discovered the identity of the rather aimless marksman. Bishop McTyeire listened with interest and at the conclusion said, "Well my dear young brother, it seems to me that you become rather easily perturbed."³

Bishop McTyeire was a quiet, reticent person and not given to any kind of ostentation. If he ever gave out any publicity about himself to the press, we have been unable to discover it. He was frequently associated with great men and women, writers, financiers, statesmen, and scholars as well as clergymen. These contacts were rarely mentioned or communicated except in his private letters to Mrs. McTyeire. The philanthropies he secured for Vanderbilt University from Commodore, William Henry, and Cornelius Vanderbilt II, are well known but his personal intimacy with them is little known and there is no source of information except the Bishop's letters. After the marriage of Frank Crawford to Commodore Vanderbilt, their household became another home for Bishop McTyeire and his family.

The warmth of welcome did not diminish after the Commodore's death, and William Henry Vanderbilt became as hospitable

³ Teague, W. A., *The Vanderbilt Alumnus*, February 1932, p. 104.

and friendly as his father had been. The Commodore's death, shortly after the opening of the University, thwarted his desire to visit it, but William Henry came to see it before the Commodore died. The Bishop spent some of his happiest days with the Vanderbilts. They made travel a far-cry from stage-coaches and even the South Carolina Railroad, as he rode in palace cars and drawing rooms as their guest. How he relished these courtesies was confessed to none but Amelia.

The Commodore gives me a most friendly call—when confined to my room. Seems to like me. Aunt Martha is very *kind*. So is Frank.⁴

The Bishop received from the Commodore the same princely welcome and kindness at Saratoga Springs that he did in the New York home. From the United States Hotel, "the last and finest in America," he wrote:

. . . it was too late to call after I supped. Next morning came an invitation to come and take all my meals with them, at their private table. . . . They have an elegant *suite* of rooms—five in a row, cut off by corridor and piazzas, and overlooking the green court and fountain. Here, in their parlor, the meals are served.

How I wish you could make one of the party! Only four of us at the table. And such eating as this 19th century only produces. Commodore likes the elegant quiet of his domestic life. We smoke and chat. I take care not to give *too much* of my company. Gov. Tilden calls in and railroad magnates; but I perceive *quietness* is most to his taste; and you know I am good for *quiet* companionship.⁵

The Bishop shared the sorrows as well as the joys of the Vanderbilts. The death of Frank Crawford Vanderbilt was like the loss of a daughter to him and his trip to New York to bury her was the saddest of his life. He wrote:

Frank has an intellectual, strongly so, an *intellectual* face—the play of life, of amiability was once in front. In death, this other expression comes out—Telegrams & notes of sympathy pour in from Europe and America.⁶ . . . Frank looked beautiful as finally laid out—I am deeply sorry for Aunt Martha but I would have grieved a greater deal for Frank if we had buried the mother instead of the daughter. The mother misses the daughter; the daughter depended on the mother—Such a crowd perhaps was never before

⁴ March 12, 1873, during convalescence.

⁵ H.N.M. to wife, July 26, 1875.

⁶ H.N.M. to wife, May 6, 1885.

gathered at the church: the richest & poorest, leaders of society & strangers of no name.⁷

The Bishop knew President Grover Cleveland, but he was amazed when President Rutherford Hayes came to hear him preach. The gratification he felt was, no doubt, justified in the light of an unusual situation—a Republican president going to a Southern Methodist Church in the bitter reconstruction period. In company with Dr. John B. McFerrin, Bishop McTyeire made a social call on President and Mrs. Hayes on Friday evening and they came to hear him preach the following Sunday. Concerning the White House visit, and the President and his wife, the Bishop wrote, "She was very gracious and friendly and he also—only busy and worried over his veto." And, about the Church service, he recorded:

Today I preached at 11 a.m. in our Church, Mt. Vernon Place. The President and Lady came in and occupied front pews. Quite a flutter, in the vast congregation, as *they* came in—a subdued buzz.

It was their first appearance there. Indeed the first time that any President has visited a Southern Methodist Church in Washington, or elsewhere. A good deal of talk over it, of course. I went ahead, as though they were not there. They stayed to communion and she—a nice Christian woman, communed with us meekly. . . . Our cause here has had a lift today, speaking after the manner of men. I am afraid they will make too much ado about it. So prone are they here to consider the honor that comes of men. This significance, however—many clerks and employees of the Government used to be afraid to be seen at the Southern Methodist Church. In times past, they say some were discharged, lost their places for it. Now, they may come up boldly and join us! Say nothing of this.⁸

The vast responsibility of Vanderbilt University in no way diminished the Bishop's activities in behalf of his Church. The latter increased, especially during his last five years, after he became Senior Bishop, when missionary affairs and other special interests came under his guidance—too extensive for the scope of this book. On Sundays at home, even after his long travels, he found no respite for he usually drove "Kitty Clover" out to some struggling church in or around Nashville and preached without previous notice, thus lifting the lagging and encouraging the progressive.

⁷ H.N.M. to wife, May 8, 1885.

⁸ H.N.M. to wife, March 3, 1878.

The year 1884 marked the peak of the Bishop's efforts. In that year he wrote his colossal *History of Methodism*, continued the reorganization of the University and conducted eleven annual conferences, across the map from Illinois south to South Carolina and west to Texas, not to mention district conferences, to which he gave special attention. Added to these were other duties such as performing marriages, officiating at funerals and writing minor articles. He was so active in serving the Western conferences, he passed up the great Centennial Conference of Methodism in Baltimore, in celebration of which the College of Bishops had asked him to write his *History of Methodism*.

Although reticent and taciturn, he listened to everybody who came to him. He derived much from others though often he disappointed them in what they got from him. He kept his own counsel. He never became harsh, and always had an undertone of humor as the poor shot at the sparrow on the Wesley Hall roof well illustrates. While McTyeire was holding a Conference, a brother criticized his Presiding Elder and, in a tense situation on the floor, called him "very slow of speech." The Bishop relaxed the situation by this humorous remark, "Take care how you censure him on that account for in so doing you reproach Moses and me."⁹

Those who came to know Bishop McTyeire well recognized his tenderness beneath his reserve.

He was not a *hard* man, but a *gentle* man. "His heart was soft as a summer sea," said Bishop Haygood after his death. It was the truest thing ever said about him.¹⁰

In the previous chapter, McTyeire's difficult relations with some members of the faculty were discussed. Charles Forster Smith has been called the best beloved member of the faculty of his day. He had no enemies. His testimony concerning the Bishop is worth noting:

Let me say here a word of reference to his relations with the faculty. I do not know how it was during the first seven years, for I was not here then;

⁹ Granbery, J. C., *Richmond Christian Advocate*, March 14, 1889.

¹⁰ Smith, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

but I do know all about it during the remaining seven years of his life. The faculty had cause not simply to respect and admire, but to love him, and with reason. Natural leader that he was, he knew the special aptitudes of those about him, and gave any piece of work his hearty but judicious commendation. Perhaps no professor felt so sure that any of his colleagues would read what he wrote as that the Bishop would read it. He used often to come, especially in later years, to the Tuesday afternoon faculty meeting; never, however, to dictate a policy, but simply to take counsel. It had become his custom to get the faculty's advice on all matters presented to the Board, and his appearance at faculty meetings was invariably hailed with pleasure.¹¹

Edwin Mims has written a fine chapter on *Vanderbilt and One World*, showing what remarkable contributions Vanderbilt men and women made in the Orient, particularly in China.¹² He cites Wendell Willkie's statement that:

. . . there exists in the world today a gigantic reservoir of good will toward us, the American people.

Many things have created this enormous reservoir. At the top of the list go the hospitals, schools, and colleges which Americans—missionaries, teachers, and doctors—have founded in the far corners of the world.¹³

It is not necessary to repeat the stories of that glorious company of Methodist missionaries whose "golden deeds" Mims has so well compared to "the courage, vision and faith of those who carried the Christian gospel to the far corners of the Roman Empire. . . . Certainly no group of alumni have made a greater contribution to the civilization of the world." They built churches, schools, hospitals, and a university. They brought the leaders of China into the Christian faith and laid the foundations for a democracy in the world's most populous nation. A dozen years ago several books were filled with this romantic story.¹⁴

But, alas! At this writing our esteem has been lost and communism is in the saddle in China, except in Formosa where the Nationalist government is our ally. On the mainland, the stars of Christianity and popular government are in eclipse.

The central figure in China's rise to freedom and advance to-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹³ Willkie, Wendell, *One World* (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1943), p. 158.

¹⁴ See: Burke, James, *My Father in China* (Farrar & Rinehart, New York and Toronto, 1942); Hahn, Emily, *The Soong Sisters* (Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, 1941); Clark, Elmer T., *The Chiangs of China* (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, 1943).

ward Christianity was Charles Soong, in whose life Bishop Holland McTyeire played an important role. The story of the founder of the "Soong Dynasty" is well known. Born in 1866 on Hainan Island, Soong was sent at the age of twelve to Boston as an apprentice in his adopted uncle's tea and silk shop. He had no love for this, and hearing from some Chinese boys the advantages they were enjoying from education in America, Soong became a stow-away on a revenue cutter. The Captain was Charles Jones, a pious man of humane instincts. He turned Soong over to the care of a Methodist minister in the port of Wilmington, North Carolina, under whose guidance he was converted and baptized with the Christian name, "Charles Jones," after his benefactor, in November, 1880. General Julian S. Carr, a wealthy ex-Confederate soldier, adopted Charles and provided the means of support and education. He spent one year, the 1881-82 session, at Trinity College, now Duke University, at Durham, North Carolina, and transferred to the Theological Department of Vanderbilt University in the fall of 1882, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1885. A classmate, the Reverend John C. Orr, reports that Soong was a good student, jovial and popular, and relates this incident concerning him:

It was the custom of some of the more zealous of the boys to meet in the little chapel of Wesley Hall before breakfast on Sunday mornings for a sort of experience meeting. They would sing and pray and tell their religious experience. One morning Soon (as we called him) got up and stood awhile before he said anything. Then his lips trembled and he said: "I feel so little. I get so lonesome. So far from my people. So long among strangers. I feel just like I was a little chip floating down the Mississippi River. But I know that Jesus is my friend, my Comforter, my Saviour." The tears were running down his cheeks, and before he could say anything more a dozen of the boys were around him, with their arms about him, and assuring him that they loved him as a brother. Soon broke up the meeting that morning.¹⁸

Bishop McTyeire determined that Charlie should get back to China and begin the ministry to his people as quickly as possible. As President of the Board of Missions, he specially requested his old friend and colleague, Bishop Keener, who presided that year

¹⁸ *Recollection of Charlie Soon* (*World Outlook*, April, 1938), p. 140.

(1855) at the North Carolina Conference, to admit Soong on trial into the Conference and, without waiting for the customary period of two years, to ordain him deacon at the same time.¹⁶ He then wrote an oft-quoted letter to Dr. Young Allen, Superintendent of the Mission in China:

Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee
July 8, 1885

My dear Doctor Allen:

We expect to send *Soon* out to you this fall, with Dr. Park. I trust you will put him, at once, to *circuit work*, walking if not riding. *Soon* wished to stay a year or two longer to study medicine to be equipped for higher usefulness, etc. And his generous patron, Mr. Julian Carr, was not unwilling to continue helping.

But we thought better that the *Chinaman* that is in him should not all be worked out before he labors among the Chinese. Already he has "felt the easy chair"—and is not averse to the comforts of higher civilization. No fault of his.

Let our young man, on whom we have bestowed labor, begin to *labor*. Throw him into the ranks: *no side place*. His desire to study medicine was met by the information that we have already as many *doctors* as the Mission needed, and one more.

I have good hope that, with your judicious handling, our *Soon* may do well. It will greatly encourage similar work here if he does. The destinies of many are bound up in his case. . .

Yr. bro. in Christ
H. N. McTyeire

This letter is quoted by James Burke in *My Father in China* (p. 12), who makes this comment, "It is unfortunate the bishop did not live to know how prophetic that last sentence was."

Charlie Soong did not continue long as a mere preacher but entered upon enterprises for his church and country now known to the world. He married a superior lady who bore him six children—four of whom are now famous. Three daughters, Eling, Chingling, and Mayling became the wives of great Chinese leaders. Eling, the eldest, married H. H. Kung, a direct descendant of Confucius but a Christian, a man of immense wealth and wide education, who held more important posts of service than any other Chinaman in contemporary history and was the recipient of numerous honors at home and abroad. Chingling married Sun Yat-sen, who became the President of the Chinese Republic and

¹⁶ North Carolina Conference Minutes, 1855, p. 53.

the most beloved ruler of modern China. Madame Sun Yat-sen now adheres to the Communist regime in China. Mayling converted Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to Christianity and became his wife. T. V. Soong, a son, was educated at Harvard and Columbia Universities, and rose to many high positions in the Chinese government. He reorganized the fiscal system of China and increased ten fold the revenue of the Nationalist regime, as director of the Department of Commerce, general manager of the Central Bank, and finance minister.

Charlie Soong entered upon his ministry in China with ardent zeal which never diminished, but he encountered difficulties. What Bishop McTyeire feared happened. To his people, he was no longer one of them. His native language and customs, coming from the far South as he did, were not familiar in North China, where the Methodists were operating, and he had become much more of an American than a Chinaman. To his people he was like a foreigner and he had become accustomed to the "comforts of higher civilization."

He found it impossible to live on a missionary's salary, equal to about fifteen dollars a month in American money, and support his family. In 1890, he gave up the itinerancy and became a local preacher. By this means, he greatly increased his service to the cause of the Church. He opened a printing house and published Bibles in the native languages. He became the manager of a flour mill and acquired wealth. He was the backbone of the revolution that overthrew the Manchu government though he did not live to see the actual revolution. His printing presses spread propaganda and Charlie continued the fight during a temporary flight of Sun Yat-sen from the country.

Charlie brought up his children in the strict Methodist traditions. The Soong family were regular attendants at all religious functions and prayers pervaded the home. The three daughters were educated in Methodist schools and colleges. First they attended the McTyeire School in Shanghai and later Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, the oldest chartered college for women in the world. They registered together on September 5, 1908, but

Mayling did subcollegiate work. Later she completed her college course at Wellesley College while her brother, T. V. Soong, was at Harvard. The three sisters were recipients of honorary degrees from Wesleyan College within recent years.

The McTyeire School in Shanghai was started in 1891 and named in memory of the Bishop in recognition of the hearty co-operation which he, as President of the Board of Missions, gave to the missionary program in China, which was guided in the field by Laura Haygood and Young J. Allen. When Dr. W. B. Nance went to China in 1895, to begin a period of great Christian service which spanned a half century and included the Presidency of the University of Soochow, he carried out a large oil portrait of the Bishop for the McTyeire School. It became the finest school for girls in China. At its semicentennial in 1941, the McTyeire School had a plant of six buildings, an enrollment of 1586, had sent 200 of its graduates to Chinese universities and 91 to universities outside of China, many of whom made excellent records in the best institutions in the United States.

When the Japanese occupied Shanghai in 1941, they permitted McTyeire School to continue its work but interned the American missionaries on the faculty. The Communists have now taken over all schools and they are compelled to "cooperate" with the communist regime.

The latest is that McTyeire has been combined with St. Mary's School (Episcopalian) to form a large provincial school for girls on the McTyeire campus. It is difficult to get definite information, but so far as we know, there has been no destruction of property.¹⁷

Turning now to the important matter of Bishop McTyeire's administration of the financial affairs of Vanderbilt University, there has been a wrong inference in the minds of some. Mr. Wils Williams, an excellent Bursar and great admirer of the Bishop, came to Vanderbilt in 1885 and reported to the Board of Trust, "Unless I can get a full statement covering all the fiscal transactions of the University from the foundation, I can never make a full

¹⁷ Letter of Louise Robinson, last principal of McTyeire School, New York, December 14, 1954. See her review of fifty years of *McTyeire School in Shanghai* (*School Life*—organ of U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C., December 1941).

general statement.”¹⁸ Mr. Williams was quite correct, but the difficulty arose from the fact that Bishop McTyeire was responsible to and made reports to Commodore Vanderbilt in the early years rather than to the Board of Trust. His accountancy was entirely satisfactory and even pleasing to the Commodore as shown in his correspondence. He even expressed the belief that the Bishop would have made a great railroad executive.

Chancellor Kirkland understood this financial situation. After an analysis of the funds handled, he summarized as follows:

From all this it appears that Bishop McTyeire received and spent for Vanderbilt University the sum of \$428,059.57 before the institution was fully organized and in operation. Of this sum only \$28,059.57 passed through the hands of the Treasurer of the University. The Treasurer's reports as recorded in the minutes of the Board during these years show no money received by him and nothing put out in this great construction act. Everything was handled by Bishop McTyeire personally; money was furnished as needed from New York and reports were made to New York, which were declared by Commodore Vanderbilt to be highly satisfactory.¹⁹

Bishop Keener, who knew McTyeire as no other, declared:

As an administrator of this responsible trust he stands forth pre-eminent for the unchallenged integrity of his administration. . . . But here is at least one example of financial integrity, centering in the absolute will and honesty of one man. We are not called to apologize for any lack of experience, or any other lack in our noble brother; he has done better than the best. Handling more money and controlling more patronage than Mr. Wesley, he has left behind him as conspicuous honesty and as faithful a record.²⁰

Holland McTyeire possessed a robust body and extraordinary capacity for exhausting work. As a boy, he worked on his father's plantation and gloried in the manual labor at Cokesbury and Collinsworth schools. Thus he nurtured his strength but took no part in athletics at college, where we have seen that debating was his principal extra-curricular activity. As a mature man, walking, driving, and riding horseback were his favorite diversions. He enjoyed above all his rides with the children at Vanderbilt.

He found mental relaxation in reading. He was not an omnivorous reader but some heavy tomes he literally devoured. Books

¹⁸ Minutes of the Board of Trust, I, Part 2, p. 452.

¹⁹ Quoted by Mims, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

²⁰ Keener, *Memorial Sermon*, Nashville *Christian Advocate*, May 16, 1889.

were covered with marginal notations and "chewed and digested" in the Baconian sense. Strangely enough, he was not greatly addicted to philosophy or theology. His love for the classics, acquired at Randolph-Macon, remained. The works of Vergil and the Greek Testament were favorites. He was fond of history, biography and political science. Some of the great poets, Shakespeare and Milton, for example, did not much attract him. Burns and Charles Wesley were dear to him.²¹ In his last illness, he found solace in reading, alternating between his bed and chair.

Bishop Joseph Key, who knew McTyeire from their school days at Collinsworth Institute, and said after his death, "The grand man carried the whole work of the church on his heart," was the first to notice signs of failing health. At the General Conference in Richmond in 1886, Bishop Key occupied the chair during a stormy debate which was unfinished at adjournment. Bishop McTyeire was due to preside next morning but requested Bishop Key to continue until the discussion ended. In February, 1888, Bishop Key spoke to his friends about unmistakable signs of a breakdown.²² In September of that year, Bishop McTyeire conducted the Illinois Conference at Rushville and returned with malaria. He tried to keep going but the Louisville Conference, at Lebanon, Kentucky, October 3-8, was his last annual conference. The malaria affected his liver and he went in November to Tullahoma, Tennessee, to drink the Hurricane Springs water. There he rose from a sick bed at the Miller Hotel to preach his last sermon, on the subject of the Ten Commandments.²³ This proved to be the end of his earthly pilgrimage which had consumed forty-four years of going and coming in the service of the Lord, rising from circuit rider to senior bishop of his church.

The Bishop came home from Tullahoma to stay. His last three months were devoted to continued planning and building the Vanderbilt University and careful preparation for laying down all earthly labors. An eye-witness described the closing period:

²¹ Cf. Hoss, *Southern Christian Advocate*, February 21, 1889.

²² *Nashville Daily American*, February 17, 1889.

²³ Letter of the pastor, Thos. A. Hearn to Rev. Jno. J. Tigert, January 13, 1897.

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The daily walks about the campus were still continued, but his step was less firm, and as the weeks went by his dependence on the sturdy cane became more marked. Though his physical strength failed, his interest in the University never relaxed. As he witnessed its steady growth and continued his far-reaching plans for its future, each year every department of the University grew dearer to him. "Draw on me at your pleasure," was the latest message that had come from Cornelius Vanderbilt, grandson of the Commodore, when informed by him that the funds on hand would not be sufficient to carry out the plan of the building of the Engineering Hall then in course of construction, and of which Mr. Vanderbilt was the donor. One afternoon, in company with my brother-in-law, Mr. Tigert, he returned to his home from his daily inspection of this building that proved to be his last. . . . When the strong mind began to lose its power to control the body, he would exclaim again and again, "Weakness is humility!"²⁴

Until the last the Bishop retained complete control of his mental powers, not even losing his inveterate sense of humor. He gave many specific directions including details of his burial. He never murmured though his going was premature. He accepted the end with quiet resignation. "The Lord sees that my work is done," he said repeatedly. On Friday, February 15, 1889, he breathed his last. On the preceding Monday, in the early hours, he asked Mrs. McTyeire to raise the curtains of his sick chamber. He walked to the window and took a last, long look at the campus which was so dear to his heart. Then he announced that he would like to partake with the family of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the following Thursday. His daughter wrote this account of the administration of the sacrament:

He lay with closed eyes, and as if in deep meditation, occasionally moving his lips as though in prayer, until the appointed hour arrived. As we gathered about his bedside, with one supreme effort of will-power he seemed to summon all his strength, and in a clear, distinct voice said: "This completes my twelfth week in bed. It is a matter of small concern to me now, whether I get well or not—the will of the Lord be done. I take this sacrament, not as a dying man; but having been deprived of the privilege of the sanctuary, I take it that I may feel my feet firm on the Rock—the true foundation, our Lord Jesus Christ, than who there is no other."

As Bishop Hargrove proceeded with the service, "Therefore with angels, and archangels, and all the company of the heavenly host," as though catching a vision of that seraphic throng that he was soon to join, he responded, "Oh *what* a company!" And again, to the comforting assurance that "the

²⁴ Baskervill, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

blood of Jesus Christ cleanses from all sin," he fervently replied, "Nothing else can!" Only once did his voice falter. At the solemn words, "Thy will be done," there was an audible sob, for a moment he paused, as though unable to proceed, but it was only for a moment, when he quickly continued and repeated the prayer to the end.²⁵

McTyeire concluded the service with the Lord's Prayer and benediction after Bishop R. K. Hargrove, assisted by the Reverend Walker Lewis, University Chaplain, had given him the elements.

The Bishop had steadily improved and hope had revived for his recovery but that night three violent hemorrhages came. In the agony of it all, he remained cool and collected. After a noxious dose of medicine, he said to the doctors: "Remember, gentlemen, I have but one stomach."

As the bell in the University tower began striking for morning prayers, he remarked that he had hung the bell. A few minutes later he uttered the word "Peace" and at 8:52 passed gently into the great beyond.

This rare man, in whom the virtues of true dignity and true humility were so equally prominent, in whom the giantly and the childly elements coalesced so effectively—this man of godlike mien and infantine artlessness, at last had his heart's desire in leaving the world as a little child falling asleep on its mother's breast—in peace.²⁶

He had given his wife details for his burial which were meticulously observed. All was very simple. "I like Dr. McFerrin's idea," he had said, "don't bury me in any new clothes but bury me in something that I have preached in." He had specified "no need of a hearse." Three groups of students, faculty, and churchmen, twenty-four in number, alternated in carrying his casket. The campus Negroes dug his grave and the students filled it. He had requested "no discourse at the grave—only the ritual of the Church." He thought "Bishop Keener might deliver a memorial sermon at a later date." This was done at the Chapel of the University on May 5, 1889.

In the year 1876, Bishop McTyeire, with the approval of surviving relatives, had disinterred the remains of Bishops McKendree

²⁵ Baskervill, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁶ Kirby, J. L., *Sunday School Visitor* (Nashville, 1889).

and Soule from not distant grave yards, which had fallen into neglect, and reburied them in the exact center of the Vanderbilt campus. Later, by contributions from the Church, he erected there a monument of South Carolina granite, "simple, chaste, massive," as he described it. At that time,

He closed his address: "We reverently give them place in the center of these grounds, dedicated to religion and learning. Here let our young men often come and meditate on the highest virtues and true glory and honor and greatness. Here let our children come and plant flowers and wreath garlands."

He did not know that side by side with these two pioneer circuit-riders and bishops he and Chancellor Garland and Mrs. McTyeire would be laid, and that this spot of ground would become at once a shrine of Vanderbilt University and of Methodism.²⁷

It was to this spot that the twenty-four pallbearers, among whom was Landon Garland who had given him his first diploma, carried the body of Holland McTyeire, flanked all the way by a throng of people of every caste and kind. The last rites were conducted by six of his episcopal colleagues who thus consecrated his remains to lie with those of the two first American bishops of Methodism. Later another colleague, not present at the burial, wrote this dedication:

To the Memory of "The Three Mighty Men" of American Methodism William McKendree, Joshua Soule, Holland N. McTyeire, Our great ecclesiastical statesmen, who sleep side by side in the Vanderbilt Campus.²⁸

McTyeire's grave is marked by this simple epitaph,
"A Leader of Men A Lover of Children"

Here "he sleepeth well beneath the magnolias planted with his own hands," as was so well said by Chancellor Kirkland in his inaugural address.

One item incidental to his death should be mentioned—His Last Will and Testament—not because it involved much property. Large estates are the ones which usually attract interest. Two sentences in this Will were the subject of many editorials. They were "I die poor. I have laid up no treasure here." These words,

²⁷ Mims. *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

²⁸ Hendrix, E. R., Dedication of Cole Lectures, 1903.

like his dying word "Peace"—"speak back from his tomb more eloquently than all the voices that extol his genius or applaud his virtues."²⁹ He laid up his treasure in heaven.

Up to the last, he drew a yearly salary of \$3,000 each from the Church and the University, refusing, it will be remembered, the \$10,000 which Commodore Vanderbilt offered. Even so, many thought he must be affluent. His residence was the abode of liberal hospitality. "It belongs to us all," he told a visitor. He was generous to a fault. What he gave was done quietly. Negroes and their churches came in for a considerable share.

He left all of his property of every sort to his wife except the royalty from his *History of Methodism* which he bequeathed to his oldest child, Mary Gayle. To his other children, "I leave no bequest—not for want of love of them but for want of property." In an earlier Will he had left a small legacy to Uncle Cy. He wrote Uncle Cy from time to time and sent checks regularly in amounts from five to twenty-five dollars. In addition, he paid his accounts for groceries and other needs.

With reference to Vanderbilt University, the Bishop wrote in his last Will (July 6, 1887):

And now concerning the University, which care and burden I have especially borne since March, 1873.

I devoutly thank God in whose hand are the hearts of all men, kings and millionaires, great and small as well, for turning this large bounty upon our Church and our land when they so much needed it, and for the measure of success that has providentially been bestowed on the labor of our hands in the management of the trust. In a decade has been done what we hardly looked for in a century. It is of the Lord, I verily believe."

He requested that the Bishops exercise their visitorial rights as members of the Board of Trust. "This they have not done heretofore," he said; that the religious character of the University be emphasized; and that his wife be allowed to occupy the home during her widowhood as she "was a silent but golden link in the chain that brought and bound this University to Nashville, and especially to Methodism."

²⁹ Cf. *Nashville Christian Advocate*, March 9, 1889.

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In closing; "I hope for grace in my dying hour to give up the Church and the University. May it please the Master for my place in each to provide a wiser, stronger, holier, more useful servant than I have been. Amen." ³⁰

³⁰ Copy in the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, March 2, 1889.

APPENDIX A

*Address at the First Ecumenical Conference**

London, England, September 7, 1881

By Bishop H. N. McTyeire

MR. CHAIRMAN, we hear with pleasure your words of welcome, and, to be straightforward about it, we accept the hospitalities which you tender us. We do not feel altogether like strangers in a strange land. If you are not our fathers, you at least live where they lived, and labor where they labored, and all these places to us feel like home. Those of us, at least, who come from my side of the water, do not approach old England as you and your brethren who go from England would approach America. Some of our best ministers and members came directly from Great Britain, and the most of us are only about two or three or four generations removed from good old Ireland, Scotland, and England. When the Conference of 1770 was held in London, and perhaps in this house, America was put down on your list as a circuit. You had forty-nine before, and we made the even fifty. The year before, at Leeds, John Wesley said, "Our brethren in America have built a preaching-house, and they are in great need of money and men." So they sent us two good men, and they raised £ 50, and sent it to us as a token of brotherly love. Fifty pounds was a great deal in that day, and especially to be raised in a Conference of Methodist preachers. I suppose at compound interest it would by this time amount to a good deal of money; we are not prepared to pay it, but we acknowledge the debt. The year afterwards the Conference sent us two more preachers, one of whom made a deeper impression and a greater record of Christian labor than any other man has ever done on the American continent—Francis Asbury. If we were indebted to old England for nothing else but

* *Proceedings of First Ecumenical Conference* (Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., 1882), pp. 28-31, reprinted in *Passing Through the Gates*, 1890, pp. 294-300.

Francis Asbury, our debt could never be paid. By the way, sir, like Paul, he wrought at a trade—not at tent making—but he wrought in iron, and there was a good deal of iron in him. I am told that the very anvil that received his honest strokes is somewhere in this kingdom, and if I am in time—I speak now—I should like to get it. I am no relic-worshiper, but I should like to get hold of that relic, and to take it home to one of our theological schools. I do not know that I could work at it, but I should like to see if we could not hammer out a few more such men as he was. We feel, therefore, that our past has been connected with yours in a way that draws us very close to you, and it warms our hearts to hear words of welcome to England. Speaking of relics, I do not think I am greatly given to them, yet I do confess to an interest in certain places, and scenes, and associations. Let me say to you, sir, and to your brethren, that you have a greater opulence in the way of relics, and sacred places, and sacred scenes in England, than any other country in the world has for Protestants. What Palestine is to a Jew, what Italy is to a Roman Catholic, that England is to a Protestant. If you Englishmen are not good Protestants, thorough and sound, you ought to be, not only for your own sakes, but for what you hold in trust for the rest of the Protestant world. Here the great councils and assemblies and conferences were first held that shaped the symbols and constructed the polity of the Protestant Churches that are now conquering the world; here were the martyrs. Excuse me if I say that, having a little leisure and a few congenial friends when I started to this Conference, I passed on to the Continent to look at old places that history and art had made classic, and I greatly enjoyed it; but I was constantly reminded that there was in England, which I had passed by—I would not have done so if I had not been sure of an opportunity to return—places still more interesting. No Campo Santo of Italy, with its sculptured marble, has half the interest to our hearts as that pious dust that lies right about you. At Pisa I was interested, not so much in the Leaning Tower, but in a lamp, which was called Galileo's, which had been hung up there for three hundred years. The accidental shaking

of that lamp when Galileo was present suggested to him the doctrine of the isochronism of the pendulum. I looked at it with more interest, I must say, than at the marble columns of the wondrous cathedral. But, sir, you have here in England—not in drowsy Pisa, but in busy, bustling Bristol—something that I would rather see; not the lamp that suggested the pendulum to Galileo, but that church, the building and paying for which suggested to John Wesley the class-meeting. A mightier moral power Methodism has not had and the world has not seen. When in Naples I was at some pains to visit the tomb of Virgil. We felt indebted to that poet for having redeemed our school-days from drudgery. We found the tomb and the urn that held his ashes. Do not think it strange that we took a leaf from the oak and the vine that grew near it, and sent them home to our friends. But there is a tomb that I would rather see than that; it is in England, not in Italy—the tomb of a poet; not the man who sung of arms, and pastoral scenes, and ducal men; but of the poet that sung of Christian hope and free grace, that breathed the prayers of the penitent and the aspirations of the Christian as none but Charles Wesley could do. They took me to the forum where Cicero stood when he pronounced his second oration against Catiline; and I verily believed that we stood on the spot that Mark Antony stood on when he made the oration over Caesar, and stirred the multitude with his subtle eloquence. But, sir, I would rather see a spot where the first Methodist preachers took to field preaching. I would rather, standing in Moorfields or Kingswood, be assured that I stand where those men of God, breaking through the trammels of formalism, preached the Gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. When I was in Milan, I visited the church where Ambrose preached and where he was buried; but I thought more of his patroness, the pious Helena, than of him. I thought of Augustine, and of that mother whose prayers persevered for his salvation; and in the oldest town on the Rhine I could not help being interested in the legend of Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins. But greater than Helena, or Monica, or Ursula, there lived a woman in England, known to all Methodists, even to children in our

Sunday-schools in my country, and of whom in the presence of those I have mentioned it might be said, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou hast excelled them all," I mean the wife of the rector of Epworth, and the conscientious mother of his nineteen children; who transmitted to her illustrious son her genius for learning, for order, for government, and I might almost say, for godliness; who shaped him by her counsels, sustained him by her prayers; and, in her old age, like the spirit of love and purity, presided over his modest household; and, when she was dying, said to her children, "Children, as soon as the spirit leaves the body, gather round my bedside, and sing a hymn of praise." We that have come from afar, who have taken in Methodism with our earliest literature, may be excused if, while we tread reverently about the tombs of Watson, and of Clarke, and of Benson, we gather a few daisies and ivy leaves from the tomb of Susanna Wesley. You that have grown to age and to honor in the midst of these scenes, can hardly conceive of the interest with which they are invested to us. I have seen, sir, certain rooms, where great councils took place, and tables on which epoch-making treaties were signed, and the Scala Sancta, which Luther himself once tried to climb on his knees at Rome; but of all places, there is one place I should like to see, and which I have not seen yet; and if, during your sessions, some of the members are absent, you may suppose they are hunting up the place where John Wesley was converted. I want to see that place: it is somewhere in Fetter Lane—if you have any such lane at this time. Aldersgate Street, too, we have read about. We have conceived how the place looked—what sort of surroundings. The man that had been seeking peace by quietism and legalism, and formalism and ritualism, that crossed land and sea, literally going about to establish his own righteousness, consents, at last, to be saved by grace; and as he stood in a prayer-meeting, and heard one describe the change which God works in the heart by faith in Jesus Christ, he says, "I felt my heart strangely warmed: I felt I did trust in Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given to me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the

law of sin and death." More than that: "What I felt I began to tell to all present." Having believed with the heart he confessed with the mouth. That was the end of legalism and formalism and ritualism, and that was the genesis of Methodism. The spirit of life having been given, then the framework began to be put up, the organism to be put on; plans and methods began to be instituted; and all those plans and organisms and modes of work are to repeat that experience in the hearts of men. As long as Methodism keeps to that work, and as long as there are men who need that experience, the mission of Methodism will never be ended. So, Mr. President, when you invited us to meet at City Road Chapel, we came, not as strangers would come to strange places, but we came trooping up from all parts of the world to see the old places; and I pray God that this visit to first places may be accompanied by the revival of first principles. Here we are, an Ecumenical Council in fact as well as in name. Methodism has been called a movement, and it began to move at once north and south, and east and west, and especially west. Here we are, representatives of devout men of every nation under heaven—Canadians, and Texans, and Gothamites, and the dwellers in the valley of the Mississippi, in Georgia and California, in Japan and China, in India and Australia, in Europe and the parts of Africa about Cape Town, strangers and sojourners in London, Caucasian and colored, Episcopal and Non-Episcopal, Connectional and Congregational—but, by the grace of God, Wesleyans all! Here we are, sir, speaking every man in his own tongue wherein he was born of the wonderful work of God accomplished by Methodism; and I reciprocate with all my heart your desire that God's blessing should be upon this gathering, and that we may take away from this Council and Conference great blessings for our people.

APPENDIX B

*My Old Servant, "Uncle Cy."**

By Bishop H. N. McTyeire

THE OLD SERVANTS! The sight of them saddened me and made a real, felt link with the past. I crave a place for a record of one phase of our civilization now almost out of sight.

My old freedman, Cyrus, died at his home in Butler County, Alabama, November 2nd (1886). His wife, "Aunt Bess," as we called her, died two days after, and they were buried side by side at Mulberry Baptist Church, of which they had long been principal members. As nearly as I can make it out from the family records, he was over ninety and she was eighty years old. This venerable couple of ex-slaves were "dear unto me," (Luke, vii:2) and, as representing a class of persons and of feelings rapidly passing away, a brief sketch may not be without interest to others.

"Uncle Remus," so charmingly sketched by Chandler Harris of Georgia, had his counterpart in many a Southern household. My Uncle Remus is dead. He was the homeborn slave of my grandfather, in Barnwell, and in his early manhood rafted lumber down Edisto River to Charleston. A pure African by blood, he had the strongly marked prognathous features of his race; and six feet high, with flesh and muscle in proportion. On the marriage of my father in 1820, Cy was given to him and helped him to build the log house to which he took his bride and to clear his first field. Uncle Cy, as the children always called him, taught me to ride a horse, and, later on, to shoot a gun. He shook hickory nuts out of the tall trees and rived trap sticks for me to catch birds; made cute bows and arrows, and in the Springtime could peel off bark from saplings and made me the grandest whistles, or plat the most glorious popping whips in the world. He was the best waggoner of his times; could get more out of a team with less worry and

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take a heavy load over the worst roads with less accident than anybody else. At log-rollings and house-raising he was head man, and likewise at cradling oats and wheat. He was fabulous, in my eyes, for strength and skill. For plowing, hoeing and cotton picking, he was no great things—rather disdained them as fit only for women and common “niggers.” He was a great axeman and could hew to the line. In 1830-31 he worked on a section of the Hamburg and Charleston Railroad that ran near our home—that primitive time before crossties and tee rails came in, when sills were stretched along the road bed and flat bars of iron nailed down on them.

He chewed tobacco; and choicest favors and propitiations were procured by a quid (literally *quid pro quo*). I suppose he was the father of thirty or forty children, begotten in his own image, and that all his posterity—children, grandchildren and greatgrandchildren—would at this time amount to several hundred.

Uncle Cy became a fair plantation carpenter and blacksmith; could make a plough and stock it, hang doors and gates, and make a wagon that would run. On my father's death Cy became the property of my mother; for, he thoughtfully said in his will, she could not keep up the plantation without him. At the division of her estate he and his wife fell to me. By degrees he graded me up as years went by; it was first “Holland”; then “Mars Holland”; then “Marster”, which title he used to the last, as though he liked it. Here I may record a criticism on that romance of marvelous genius, “Uncle Tom's Cabin.” Such a negro as “Uncle Tom” was never sold out of any family. Money could never buy that sort.

It was a great treat to be permitted to “go to town” with Uncle Cy on the cotton wagon. There was *one* to whom he bore a tender loyalty, and for whom he had three names, Missus, Your Mudder and Miss Betsy. To her he felt amenable for the lad's safety, and he well knew how to afford him the utmost fun within safety limits. When the bright camp fire was kindled, and the team haltered and fed for the night, Uncle Cy would bring out that frying-pan—his only culinary apparatus—and work up a savory

meal. For butchering a beef or mutton there was none like him, and at hog-killing time he enriched me with pig tails and bladders. In ghosts and witches he was a firm believer, and could beat Vennor prognosticating the weather. I would put him against Carlisle or Barnard [E. E. Barnard and James H. Carlisle, both astronomers] for telling the hour of the night if the Seven Stars, Job's Coffin, the Three Runners, and other heavenly bodies were shining.

For overseers he had a deep dislike. While obeying his own master, in the letter and spirit of the Epistle to the Ephesians, he was insubordinate to delegated authority; and here came in his most serious troubles. A sad case I remember to have occurred in Alabama about 1840. In a difficulty with the overseer, Uncle Cy rebelled and ran away, taking with him two other Negro men. They were gone over a year, and no tidings of them could be got. At last they turned up in South Carolina. It seems they had made their way back to the old Barnwell neighborhood, (a distance of over 300 miles,) crossing the Chattahoochee, Flint, Oconee, Ockmulgee and Savannah Rivers; and becoming weary of hiding out, they voluntarily surrendered themselves. I was a boy at school at Collinsworth, Ga., when they passed along the road in the ragged and chopfallen plight of runaways being returned home.

Thirty years later Uncle Cy met me at the depot to take me out to my farm, "Butler Lodge." Of that runaway episode in his life he had ever been reticent; but, as we rode along through the lonely forest, I drew him out on it. "Now tell me; no danger; freedom's come; tell me all about it—how you dodged the patrols and crossed those rivers, and made the trip." And I slipped a plug of tobacco into his hand. Never was a twenty-mile journey better beguiled. He told me all—how they got up a stock of provisions to start on, and how they replenished it by the way; the narrow escapes, the shrewd disguises for passing through or around the towns and villages; lying low by day and traveling by night. Surely Dickens never contrived a story with richer or more various incident. Much comedy, but ever and anon touching on tragedy.

Xenophon's famous retreat with the ten thousand Greeks did not excel this in strategy.

Out of what was left when emancipation came I gave him forty acres of land, (not a mule) but a yoke of steers, a cow and calf, and his tools. He soon fixed up a snug home; and what with working at his craft, and a little farming, and such annual stipend as I could send him in money, these last dozen years, he made out to finish his pilgrimage tolerably well. His connubial morals improved, and I believe in his salvation. His last letters to me (dictated) were full of gratitude and hope.

Uncle Cy owed much to his wife—an honest, truthful and virtuous woman. She was the best nurse I ever saw, and ministered with unspeakable fidelity and tenderness to my parents, and brother and sisters on their death beds. "Aunt Bess" was the first woman I ever heard pray in public. She was a leaven and a light. Some influence and a few honest pennies she gained by practicing that delicate profession which the Egyptians, in Moses's time, turned over to their women. Only once did she fail me. When the Federal armies were getting into Alabama we proposed to put our silver spoons and such things in her keeping. "Now, Master, of course I'll do it if you say so, but I can't be 'sponsible. Dem Yankees is a coming, and I hearn tell how dey carries wid 'em somethin like a pinter worm, and when it's sot down dey tells it to *pint* wha any money or silver things is hid, and it *pints* jest as straight as a gun."

Uncle Cy's family pride was a trait characteristic of the old regime. I have seen him take his wife down by reminding her that he had been in the family longer than she. Once I had arranged with a neighbor, Squire Fowler, to get a swarm of bees. Uncle Cy was hollowing out a gum and with some hesitation said: "Marster, don't you know that some folks can't get into bees? Our family is too industrious for bees. Old master tried to get into bees, and I 'members well how old master before him tried, and day never could. It's only lazy, poor white folks has any luck raising honey." And he made numerous citations in support of his position. But his flattery was not to balk my experiment. I got into

MY OLD SERVANT, "UNCLE CY"

bees. At first, they went in and came out of the little hole at the bottom of the gum briskly. In a few weeks, few and fewer; then, only a straggler of two. We knocked off the top and found a triangular shaped piece of comb, but no honey. So ended my first and last attempt at "getting into bees."

Farewell, faithful, loving, dear old Uncle Cy. I'm sure he loved me and prayed for me. Indeed, they tell me that he has been in the habit of praying for me, by name, in public meetings for years. My family have joined me every year in making up a box for Uncle Cy and Aunt Bess, filled with halfworn clothes and various things, now old, such as they liked or needed. Christmas is coming, but no box goes that way any more. Indeed, our children and the generations following can never know the sentiment that sprung up between the two races under the system of domestic slavery. It had its evil and it had its good. Both are gone forever.



APPENDIX C

*MINISTRY OF LITTLE CHILDREN**

By Bishop McTyeire

Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade,
Death came with friendly care;
The opening bud to heaven conveyed,
And bade it blossom there.

SOME WHILE AGO, in a mood for such thoughts, our eye fell on the item that, in one year, the deaths in four Eastern cities amounted to 43,432, and of this number 24,767 were children under five years of age.

The last sentence fixed our attention—twenty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven children died during the year. This, in four cities only! Of the rest of the forty-three thousand four hundred and thirty-two, who can tell their eternal destiny? Some to heaven, some to hell! But concerning these little ones none can doubt. Taking the aggregate of other cities and villages, and the country at large, we comprehend a fact that finds expression at the Saviour's lips, "Of such is the kingdom of God," and in the sacred couplet—

Millions of infant souls compose
The family above.

The adults had worked out their mission, or failed to do it. But these little ones, had they no mission? Was their being a failure? Lived they, and suffered and died, and is the world all the same as though they had not been? Nay, verily. Theirs was a precious ministry, and one that they only could fulfill.

"What a waste of life!" exclaims the worldly economist, as he figures up the statistics of population. "They lived in vain," is the thought of the man ambitious of making his mark on the age.

* Nashville *Christian Advocate*, May 10, 1860.

"More blanks, flowers that came to no fruit, broken off, fallen, faded," is the thought and feeling of many.

But Christian philosophy presents a more ennobling and comforting view. Cold and selfish would this world of ours be without these children. They preach the evangel of beauty and innocence; they break the incrustations of worldliness; they come to love and to be loved; they touch chords vibrating solemnly, sweetly, which are reserved only for their tiny hands; they stir, in the heart, hidden wells of feeling; they preserve human sympathies from utter ossification; they deeply subsoil our hard natures. Geologists often show us, far down under the earth's layers, the clear and well-defined print of a frail leaf, or the track of a little bird, made in the dim ages past. These have left imperishable memorials of themselves on the face of the world from which whole species and races and kingdoms have passed away without a record.

The Bible makes mention, minute and kind, of the death of little children. Take the case of David's family. We lose sight of the sickness and death of the unweaned child in the effects produced upon the royal parent. It is not saying too much that a large proportion of those who are saved will be saved by the ministry of little children.

Summing up the moral results of the year, we must not credit all to orators and papers and books and institutions. These little preachers have visited homes, and softened the hearts of the indwellers, and drawn them heavenward, where other voices have not been heeded. The strong man, unused to tears, has bowed over the little coffin and wept. Under what sermon was he ever so melted down? What other preacher ever availed to bow that pride of strength and unseal that fountain of tears? The gay, worldly-minded mother sits silent, and sheds secret tears and prays; and, peradventure, as these two hearts are drawn closer by a common grief, they think of the common tie in heaven, and resolve, through grace, as the babe cannot come to them, that they will go to it.

"When our little boy died" has been the beginning of pilgrimage of many bereaved parents. The death and burial of the baby

dates impressions on the whole family circle that have matured to godliness.

The old may outlive their friends; the middle-aged may make enemies who are glad to be rid of them, or, wandering off, they may die where none lament; but the babe is without prejudice in life and mighty in death. It is God's messenger of reconciliation, his flag of truce in this world of enemies and envys and wrath and strife. It has strong hold on two hearts, if no more. The empty crib, the half-worn shoes, the soft locks of hair that few may see prolong the painful yet pleasing memory of the angel visitor that looked in upon us and smiled and went to heaven bidding us, amid care and sorrow, to follow on.

There is something so peculiarly affecting in the loss of a child that we sympathize with the parent who said he believed no minister was prepared to bury another's child who had not buried one of his own.

"It was only a baby." Ah! they know not, who talk so slightly, how deep and long a shadow that little form can cast. In the death of children heaven is receiving large contributions from earth. Next to the conversion of a soul, the enemy of God and man may take least pleasure in the death of a child. His snares are prevented, and his prey lost.

We bless God for our creation. The opening of a career of immortal existence is in itself a great event—a mission of praise and glory which death cannot frustrate. Though the voice of praise swell as the sound of many waters, and the celestial harpers are numberless, yet his ear detects every new voice and joyful string, and the praise of these little ones glorifieth him. In this view, the babe even of a few days and sickly—that goeth from the cradle to the grave—is of more intrinsic importance than material worlds.

The mystery of pain is one of the hardest trials of faith. It is natural to associate suffering with guilt; but what have they done—the innocents? Even here there is a lesson and a consolation if our hearts can receive it. He knew no sin was made perfect through suffering. May not our children, who cannot confess him

before men, be permitted at this one point to have fellowship with their Saviour and ours? May not this refining fire chasten and prepare for the eternal heaven the fallen nature which they with us inherit? A drop of this baptismal fire falls even on them. By a brief experience of pain in the mortal body, before they quit it for the immortal, even they come to some knowledge of the price of their redemption, and the contrast of a few painful hours may heighten the joys of eternity.

A Hindoo woman said to a missionary: "Surely your Bible was written by a woman." "Why?" "Because it says so many kind things for women. Our Shastas never refer to us but in reproach." Parents watching by the couch of suffering innocence, and seeing the desire of their eyes taken away at a stroke, have found themselves busy running over the Scriptures for comfort, and gathering up, as a stay of their hearts, what God has said about their little children. How full and precious and unequivocal are the passages of comfort! The conclusion is, Surely the Bible was written by a parent. And so it was. He knows the heart of a parent, and works by it to the glory of his grace.

O prattling tongues, never formed to speech, and now still in death, how eloquently you preach to us! O little pattering feet, leading the way, how many are following after you to heaven! We thank God for your ministry, and if it be in vain, the fault and the loss will be all our own.

APPENDIX D

ANNUAL CONFERENCES conducted by Bishop Holland N. McTyeire during twenty-three years of episcopal visitation, as recorded in the conference Journals.

1866

Holston Conference, Asheville, North Carolina, October 10-17
Tennessee Conference, Huntsville, Alabama, October 24-30
Georgia Conference, Americus, Georgia, November 28-December 5
Florida Conference, Quincy, Florida, December 13-15

1867

Trinity Conference, Sulphur Springs, Texas, October 9-14
East Texas Conference, Rusk, Texas, October 23-28
North-west Texas Conference, Waco, Texas, November 6-11
West Texas Conference, Sequin, Texas, November 27-December 2
Texas Conference, Houston, Texas, December 11-17

1868

West Virginia Conference, Clarksburg, West Virginia, September 16-21
Louisville Conference, Louisville, Kentucky, September 30-October 6
Tennessee Conference, Shelbyville, Tennessee, October 14-21
Memphis Conference, Paris, Tennessee, November 25-December 1
Montgomery Conference, Greenville, Alabama, December 9-16

1869

Illinois Conference, Bloomington, Illinois, September 15-20
Louisville Conference, Owensboro, Kentucky, September 22-28
Mississippi Conference, Jackson, Mississippi, December 8-15

1870

Louisiana Conference, Shreveport, Louisiana, January 12-18
Baltimore Conference, Baltimore, Maryland, March 2-10
Western Conference, Leavenworth City, Kansas, September 8-10
Missouri Conference, Columbia, Missouri, September 14-21
St. Louis Conference, Booneville, Missouri, September 28-October 5
Illinois Conference, Kinmundy, Illinois, October 12-16
Alabama Conference, Montgomery, Alabama, December 7-14

1871

Indian Mission Conference, Bogy Depot, Cherokee Nation, October 4-8
Arkansas Conference, Van Buren, Arkansas, October 18-23
Little Rock Conference, Little Rock, Arkansas, November 1-7
White River Conference, Batesville, Arkansas, November 15-19

1872

Columbia Conference, Albany, Oregon, August 14-18
Pacific Conference, Santa Rosa, California, October 2-8
Los Angeles Conference, Los Nietos, October 16-21

BISHOP HOLLAND NIMMONS MCTYEIRE

1873

Kentucky Conference, Lexington, Kentucky, September 3-9
Tennessee Conference, Franklin, Tennessee, October 8-15
Memphis Conference, Jackson, Tennessee, November 26-December 2
South Carolina Conference, Sumter, South Carolina, December 10-16

1874

North Texas Conference, Denton, Texas, November 4-10
North-west Texas Conference, Weatherford, Texas, November 18-23

1875

Holston Conference, Knoxville, Tennessee, October 20-26
Virginia Conference, Danville, Virginia, November 17-24
North Carolina Conference, Wilmington, North Carolina, December 1-6
Louisiana Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 15-20

1876

Western Conference, Nebraska City, Nebraska, August 30-September 4
St. Louis Conference, Washington, Missouri, September 6-11
Missouri Conference, Hannibal, Missouri, September 13-19
South-west Missouri Conference, Miami, Missouri, October 18-23
Indian Mission Conference, Vinita, Cherokee Nation, October 26-29
North Alabama Conference, Decatur, Alabama, December 13-18

1877

Denver Conference, Denver, Colorado, August 16-19
Columbia Conference, Walla Walla, Washington Territory, September 12-17
Pacific Conference, Santa Rosa, California, October 11-15
Los Angeles Conference, Los Angeles, California, October 25-29
Mississippi Conference, Jackson, Mississippi, December 5-11

1878

Louisiana Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 8-14
Baltimore Conference, Baltimore, Maryland, March 6-14
Western Virginia Conference, Catlettsburg, Kentucky, September 4-9
Indian Mission Conference, Muskogee, Indian Territory, October 17-20
Arkansas Conference, Russellville, Arkansas, October 23-29
South Georgia Conference, Thomasville, Georgia, December 11-16

1879

West Texas Conference, Gonzales, Texas, October 15-20
German Mission Conference, Houston, Texas, October 23-25
North-west Texas Conference, Fort Worth, Texas, October 29-November 4
North Texas Conference, Sherman, Texas, November 5-10
East Texas Conference, Palestine, Texas, December 3-8
Texas Conference, Austin, Texas, December 10-15

1880

Western Virginia Conference, Buffalo, West Virginia, September 1-6
Kentucky Conference, Lexington, Kentucky, September 15-20
Holston Conference, Morristown, Tennessee, October 20-25
Arkansas Conference, Fort Smith, Arkansas, November 10-14

ANNUAL CONFERENCES CONDUCTED BY BISHOP MCTYEIRE

Memphis Conference, Trenton, Tennessee, November 17-22
North Georgia Conference, Rome, Georgia, December 1-6
Alabama Conference, Pensacola, Florida, December 8-12
North Alabama Conference, Oxford, Alabama, December 15-20

1881

Baltimore Conference, Harrisonburg, Virginia, March 9-15
Tennessee Conference, Lebanon, Tennessee, October 19-24
Holston Conference, Wytheville, Virginia, October 25-31
Virginia Conference, Charlottesville, Virginia, November 16-21
North Alabama Conference, Huntsville, Alabama, November 23-27
North Georgia Conference, Athens, Georgia, November 30-December 5
White River Conference, Beebe, Arkansas, December 7-12
Little Rock Conference, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, December 14-19

1882

Louisiana Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 4-9
Florida Conference, Monticello, Florida, January 18-23
Baltimore Conference, Fredericksburg, Virginia, March 9-15
Kentucky Conference, Carlisle, Kentucky, September 6-12
Illinois Conference, Russellville, Illinois, September 27-October 2
Louisville Conference, Elizabethtown, Kentucky, October 11-16
Memphis Conference, Dyersburg, Tennessee, November 17-23
North Mississippi Conference, Corinth, Mississippi, November 29-December 3
South Carolina Conference, Greenville, South Carolina, December 13-18

1883

Louisville Conference, Hopkinsville, Kentucky, September 26-October 2
Holston Conference, Chattanooga, Tennessee, October 10-16
North Alabama Conference, Birmingham, Alabama, November 14-16
North Mississippi Conference, Oxford, Mississippi, November 28-December 3
Memphis Conference, Union City, Tennessee, December 12-17

1884

Kentucky Conference, Mount Sterling, Kentucky, September 10-14
Louisville Conference, Louisville, Kentucky, September 17-22
Illinois Conference, Nashville, Illinois, September 24-29
Tennessee Conference, Nashville, Tennessee, October 8-14
West Texas Conference, San Antonio, Texas, October 29-November 3
North-west Texas Conference, Waco, Texas, November 6-11
North Texas Conference, Sulphur Springs, Texas, November 12-17
East Texas Conference, Longview, Texas, November 19-24
German Mission Conference, Houston, Texas, November 27-30
Texas Conference, Galveston, Texas, December 3-9
South Carolina Conference, Charleston, South Carolina, December 17-22

1885

Mexican Border Mission Conference, San Antonio, Texas, October 29-November 2
West Texas Conference, Gonzales, Texas, November 4-9

BISHOP HOLLAND NIMMONS MCTYEIRE

North-west Texas Conference, Corsicana, Texas, November 11-17
Texas Conference, Austin, Texas, December 2-7
East Texas Conference, Beaumont, Texas, December 9-13
Mississippi Conference, Meridian, Mississippi, December 16-24

1886

Baltimore Conference, Staunton, Virginia, March 10-17
Missouri Conference, St. Joseph, Missouri, September 8-14
South-west Missouri Conference, Kansas City, Missouri, September 29-October 5
Western Conference, Atcheson, Kansas, October 7-10
Holston Conference, Knoxville, Tennessee, October 27-November 1
North Georgia Conference, Augusta, Georgia, December 1-7

1887

Holston Conference, Abingdon, Virginia, October 5-11
South Carolina Conference, Spartanburg, South Carolina, November 30-December 5
North Georgia Conference, Marietta, Georgia, December 7-12
South Georgia Conference, Sandersville, Georgia, December 14-19

1888

Western Virginia Conference, Philippi, West Virginia, September 5-10
Kentucky Conference, Nicholasville, Kentucky, September 12-17
Illinois Conference, Rushville, Illinois, September 26-30
Louisville Conference, Lebanon, Kentucky, October 3-8

APPENDIX E

Letter of Eugene Smith to Bishop McTyeire

GEOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF ALABAMA
EUGENE A. SMITH
State Geologist

Tuscaloosa, Ala., Jan. 11, 1874

Bishop H. N. McTyeire,
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Sir

I have just answered by telegraph, your enquiry. Your dispatch was not received until this afternoon. Before I know the result of the deliberations at Memphis, I desire to let you know where I stand in the question. In a short telegram it was impossible more than to glance at the subject & though that will probably decide the result, so far as I am concerned, yet I could not let you be under any misapprehension in the matter. Before I answered your letter of Oct. I was assured by Prof. Vaughn, to whom I wrote on the subject that you knew the exact state of my church relations, that I was not so good a Christian as I ought to be—not so good as I wished I was.

After this assurance I did not hesitate to write to you as I did. Without this assurance that you had made yourself acquainted with my standing & antecedents, I should have given them to you at first hand. Before I went to Europe, I knew of Darwin's theory nothing at all. While there, I became acquainted with the main features of it—I accepted it as giving the best explanation to my mind of many facts of every day observation—but the idea that it contained anything antagonistic to a Christian belief never occurred to me until after my return to America, when I was surprised at the hue and cry raised after Darwin & believers in his theory. Of Darwin's theory, or indeed, of any theory of evolution, I know very little by personal study having never devoted my time to the study of Biology. That there have been fanatics who have pushed this theory into domains where it belonged not, there can be no doubt, but that there is anything essentially antagonistic to a Christian belief in it, I cannot believe—at least so far as my acceptance of it goes—nor do I believe it possible to take the few principles that lie at the bottom of evolution theories, and derive legitimately from them anything which can shake any man's belief in Christianity.

Because a man does not believe in the six days (literal) of Creation—is he therefore to be set down as an infidel? Because one does not believe in an universal deluge—shall he be called an atheist? Because he believes that fossils have been deposited where found, after processes we see every day going on before us—and are not *lulus naturae*, does he belittle the power of God? Because he believes that 6000 years are a mere fraction of this planet's real age—that this world is not fixed in space, must he renounce Christianity? Such questions as these have been fought over with bitterness—have been decided, & not the most orthodox Christian would now hesitate in his opinion about them. If we see resemblances descend from father to son—if we see habits inherited—tastes—malformations—and think we see in all this, genetic

relation—is there anything in such a belief antagonistic to religion? If amongst the infinite number of variations, say, a plant may assume there is some one peculiarity by which it is better adapted to the surroundings—will it not be more likely to thrive & come to maturity & bear seed—than its neighbor—lacking this peculiarity? this is the survival of the fittest—or variation by natural selection. To deny that the fittest (to surroundings) does survive—it seems to me, is impossible—and yet men are proscribed because they believe it.

I trust, Sir, that you will not misjudge the spirit in which I write all this. I am as far from giving my adherence to a fanatic who strives to strike at the root of religious belief—using scientific theories as his tool—as you or any man can be. Of one thing I can assure you—viz—that whatever may be the cause of my wavering, groping, uncertain religious belief—the acceptance which I give to Darwin's or any other theory of evolution—has not the remotest connection with it. I was in as much uncertainty, before I ever heard the name of Darwin—as I am today. The cause lies deeper than the mere acceptance or nonacceptance of a scientific theory. If I ever do come to have a firm, abiding, Christian faith, (and for some such faith no one can wish with more fervor,) the mere pinscratch of a theory—an explanation of natural phenomena faulty & imperfect at best—could it, I ask you, shake such a faith?

To me, the two subjects occupy such utterly different ground that I cannot, by any possibility conceive of a conflict—It may not be relevant to speak of such men as Henslow—McCosh—Hodge—who can see nothing essentially antagonistic to a religious belief—in an evolution theory—yet they, & with them, many another, believe in this particular aspect as I do—Of course, there can be no objection to an evolution theory or Darwinism *per se*; but only in so far as such a theory militates against the Christian religion—& in this sense I have answered your question. Though I did not hope to make my meaning clear by the telegram—yet I could not allow you—who have honored me with your good opinion, as regards my fitness as a scientific man—to think that your trust in me as a member of a Christian & a denizen of a Christian land, had been bestowed upon one altogether unworthy. I am Sir, as grateful to you for the honor shown in your choice of me—as though your nomination had been confirmed without a murmur of dissent.

Very respectfully

EUGENE A. SMITH

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